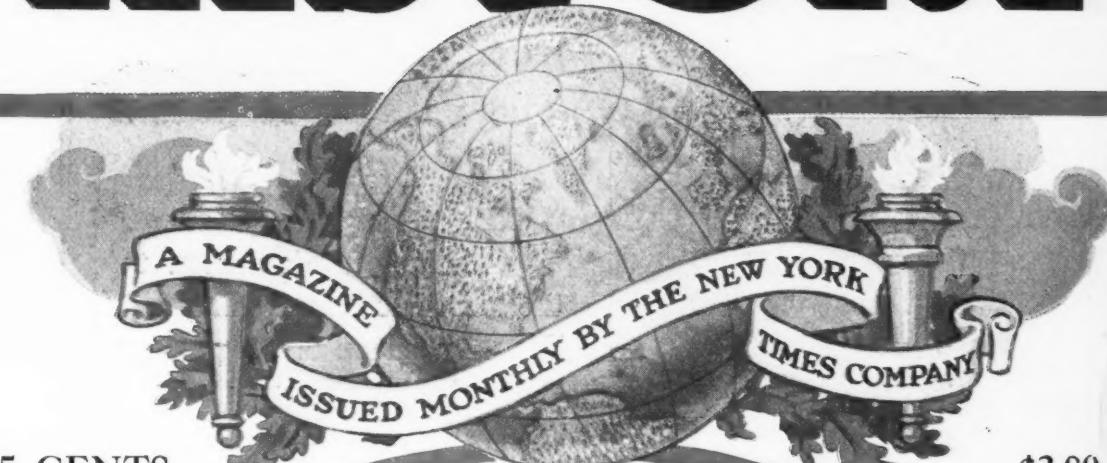


DECEMBER, 1914

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# DEFEAT OF RATIFICATION

## Decisive Vote Against Peace Treaty Ends Long Debate in the United States Senate

**T**HE United States Senate on Nov. 19, 1919, at 10:30 P. M., refused by a decisive vote to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. This decision, by which the United States alone of all the great powers rejected the treaty and the League of Nations covenant, was the outcome of four months of bitter debate, during which the Republican majority in the Senate—under the leadership of Senator Lodge of Massachusetts—had striven to alter or modify the treaty, and the Democratic Administration minority had tried to preserve it intact. When the crucial test came, each side defeated the purpose of the other, so that the treaty was rejected in two different ways. The vote on unconditional ratification—without amendments or reservations—stood 38 ayes and 53 noes, whereas an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the whole number was required to ratify. On ratification with the reservations, which had been adopted by the Senate sitting as a Committee of the Whole, the decisive vote was 39 ayes, 55 noes. A motion to reconsider brought a third vote of similar import.

Party lines were broken in the final votes by seven Democrats who joined the Republicans in rejecting the treaty without qualification; one Republican (McCumber of North Dakota) voted with the Democrats for unconditional ratification. In the ballot for ratification with reservations seven Democrats voted with the Republicans, while thirteen Republican Senators, known as irreconcilable opponents of the League of Nations covenant, voted with the Democrats.

Shortly after thus defeating the treaty the Senate adjourned, putting an end to the extra session, and dispersed to reassemble at the regular session on Dec. 1.

This action of the Senate killed the treaty for the time being, so far as the

United States was concerned, and left the relations between this country and Germany in the same position as when the armistice was signed, Nov. 11, 1918. The President was the sole authority that could decide what further steps were to be taken. It was generally believed that he would again present the treaty to the Senate when it reassembled; that one or two of the Lodge reservations would be modified slightly to make them acceptable to friends of the treaty, and that ratification would follow in due course.

In *CURRENT HISTORY* for November the proceedings of the Senate on the treaty up to Oct. 25 were reviewed. The first decisive action after that date was the defeat by a vote of 38 to 40 of the amendment offered by Senator Johnson of California regarding the voting strength of Great Britain in the Assembly of the League of Nations. This amendment sought to equalize the vote of Great Britain and its dominions and colonies with the vote of the United States.

### ALL AMENDMENTS DEFEATED

On Oct. 29 the Senate clearly demonstrated that, while it favored many reservations, it would sanction no amendments to the treaty; on that day it voted down four amendments by decisive majorities. By voting down an amendment sponsored by Senator Moses, Republican, of New Hampshire, on equality of vote in the League Assembly, by a vote of 47 to 36, the Senate completed the list of amendments promulgated by the Foreign Relations Committee. The other amendments voted on that day were offered by individual Senators. They were these:

One by Senator Johnson of California offered as a substitute to his amendment on equality of vote, killed by the Senate earlier in the week, and amplifying it so as to make it more emphatic; defeated by a vote of 43 to 35.

One offered by Senator Shields, Demo-

crat, of Tennessee, to provide that Great Britain and her colonies and dominions have collectively but three delegates and one aggregate vote in the assembly; defeated 49 to 31.

One by Senator Sherman, Republican, of Illinois, to insert the phrase to "invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God," in the preamble, defeated 57 to 27.

All the amendments proposed by the Foreign Relations Committee had now been defeated by decisive majorities. On Nov. 4 Senator Lodge put in an amendment to strike from the treaty the three sections under which the economic rights on the Shantung Peninsula are awarded to Japan. He had given notice of this amendment early in October, when the Senate defeated the committee amendment on Shantung by a vote of 55 to 35. The Senate voted down the new amendment by 41 to 26. Then Senator Borah offered an amendment to strike from the treaty the article guaranteeing the territorial integrity and political independence of members of the League of Nations. After two hours of debate on it Mr. Borah withdrew the amendment, explaining that he would await the Senate's action on his reservation to limit the obligation imposed on the United States under that article.

On Nov. 5 an amendment by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin to strike from the treaty the labor provisions was defeated by a vote of 34 to 47. The following day the last attempt to amend the treaty, made by Senator Gore (Dem., Okla.) was defeated by a vote of 76 to 16; it provided that the United States should hold a referendum vote before entering any war.

#### BATTLE ON RESERVATIONS

The real battle on the qualifying reservations reported by the Foreign Relations Committee began on Nov. 7. The first vote was on the preamble, which required the written assent of three of the allied powers to the American reservations. Efforts to modify it were defeated, and it was adopted by a vote of 48 to 40; three Democrats, Senators Gore, Reed, and Walsh of Massachusetts, voted aye with the Republicans; one Republican, Senator McCumber, voted no

with the Democrats; Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, would have voted aye, but was paired with Senator Martin (Dem., Va.), who was ill.

On Nov. 8, after a stubborn fight by the minority, the Senate, by a vote of 50 to 35, adopted the reservation offered by the Foreign Relations Committee majority, under which the United States claims the right to be the sole judge, in the event of its withdrawal from the League of Nations, as to whether its obligations to the League have been fulfilled.

Had all the Senators who were unable to vote because of being paired or absent cast their votes, the result would have shown every one of the forty-nine Republican Senators in favor of the reservation, together with six Democrats, making an aggregate of fifty-five Senators for the reservation and forty-one against it.

Efforts were also made by the minority to strike out all mention of a concurrent or joint resolution, giving Congress the option to proceed as it deemed fit. These were likewise defeated.

On the final vote, although Senators McCumber and Nelson had assailed the proposal for a concurrent resolution, contending that it was a deliberate affront to the President, in taking away the veto power he had under the Constitution, they voted for the reservation exactly as it was offered by the majority. An unexpected vote in favor of the reservation was that of Senator Chamberlain, Democrat, of Oregon, who, supporting it, broke away for the first time from the Administration alignment.

#### ANNULLING ARTICLE X.

The Senate on Nov. 10 began the debate on the reservation regarding Article X. of the treaty; this reservation put the United States on record as refusing to be bound by any obligation to use its armed forces in case of outside aggression threatening the territory of any of the members of the League, except by the consent of Congress. This was the reservation which President Wilson had denounced as "a knife-thrust at the heart of the covenant." A modified reservation

offered by Senator Thomas, Democrat, of Colorado, was defeated by a vote of 48 to 36, four Democrats—Gore, Reed, Smith of Georgia, and Walsh—voting with the Republicans. The debate continued on Nov. 11 and 12. On the 13th the reservation precisely as recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee was adopted by a vote of 46 to 33. On this crucial ballot all the Republicans voted aye, together with four Democrats, Senators Gore, Reed, Smith of Georgia, and Walsh of Massachusetts. Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, was also paired in the affirmative.

#### INVOKING CLOSURE RULE

After the reservation had been adopted, Senator Lodge, the majority leader, offered a petition, signed by thirty Republican Senators, to invoke the closure rule, so as to limit further debate on the treaty. Under the rules the petition went over until Nov. 15, when it was to be voted on without debate. The Senate took a recess over Nov. 14 on account of the funeral of Senator Martin.

Senator Lodge's move for closure came after a similar attempt made by Senator Hitchcock, the minority leader, under which debate on the reservations alone would have been restricted. This effort of Mr. Hitchcock failed, when the Senate sustained a ruling by Senator Cummins, Republican, of Iowa, who was in the chair, that the closure, if invoked, must operate as to the entire treaty and not the reservations alone.

Among the reservations offered by Senator Hitchcock was one, touching upon Article X., to provide that the advice which the League of Nations Council might give to members of the League respecting the use of their military forces might be considered by the members as only advisory and that, for itself, the United States reserved the right, through Congress, to decide whether to accept the advice. The minority reservation on Article X. was offered by Senator Hitchcock as a substitute for the committee reservation before the latter was finally voted upon. It was defeated by a vote of 44 to 52.

Nov. 15 was a field day for voting.

The closure rule was first adopted by a vote of 78 to 16, whereby all further debate on any question regarding the treaty was limited to one hour for each Senator. The Foreign Relations Committee reservations were then offered in quick succession, and ten were adopted during the day by votes averaging 53 to 40, the Republicans voting solidly for each reservation; various Democrats voted with them, as many as thirteen breaking party lines in certain cases.

On Nov. 17 two reservations offered, respectively, by Senators Owen and Reed, both Democrats, were voted down. One of them rejected participation in the disposal of the German colonies, and the other excluded the League of Nations from action affecting the "honor and vital interests" of the United States.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE

Senator Hitchcock announced on the same day that President Wilson had informed him that he would "pocket" the treaty if the Lodge resolution of ratification, with the majority reservations as a part of it, were adopted. Various minor reservations offered by different Senators were quickly voted down at this session, the majority indicating that no further reservations would be adopted. During the session of Nov. 18, preceding the final vote on the ratifying clauses, a number of reservations were offered, but each in turn was defeated by a decisive majority.

On Nov. 19 the way was clear for final and decisive action on the treaty. The Democrats held a conference before the Senate assembled, at which the following letter from President Wilson to Senator Hitchcock was read:

My Dear Senator: You were good enough to bring me word that the Democratic Senators supporting the treaty expected to hold a conference between the final vote on the Lodge resolution of ratification and that they would be glad to receive a word of counsel from me.

I should hesitate to offer it in any detail, but I assume that the Senators only desire my judgment upon the all-important question of the final vote on the resolution containing the many reservations of Senator Lodge. On that I cannot hesitate, for, in my opinion, the resolution in that form does not provide

for ratification but rather for nullification of the treaty. I sincerely hope that the friends and supporters of the treaty will vote against the Lodge resolution of ratification.

I understand that the door will then probably be open for a genuine resolution of ratification.

I trust that all true friends of the treaty will refuse to support the Lodge resolution. Cordially and sincerely yours,  
WOODROW WILSON.

#### DEFEAT OF THE TREATY

The Senate debate continued throughout the day, each side availing itself of every known manoeuvre in parliamentary tactics, but the Republicans stood solid on every vote, and were aided by the votes of four to seven Democratic Senators.

The first crucial vote, which betokened the fate of the treaty, came late at night on the question of ratification with the Lodge reservations. Thirty-nine Senators voted for ratification on these terms and fifty-five voted against. The second vote was on the same question, revived by a motion to reconsider, and this time forty-one Senators voted for and fifty against. The third and final vote was on the question of ratification without reservations of any kind; thirty-eight Senators voted "yes" and fifty-three "no." The Senate then adjourned sine die at 11:10 o'clock.

Immediately after the last vote, which spelled the doom of the treaty as far as that session of Congress was concerned, Senator Lodge, the majority leader, offered a concurrent resolution declaring peace to exist between Germany and the United States, this being done so as to pave the way for an independent treaty with Germany.

As the House had adjourned sine die, the Lodge resolution had to go over until the next session of the Congress, which meets Dec. 1.

After the Democrats for the second time had voted down the Lodge resolution of ratification, Senator Underwood, Democrat, of Alabama, offered the substitute resolution of ratification without reservations. Although Senator Lodge and those working with him had blocked all previous efforts of the Democrats to obtain a vote on any resolution of their

own through parliamentary points of order, Mr. Lodge allowed the Underwood resolution to come to a vote.

Seven Democratic Senators voted against it and one Republican Senator, Mr. McCumber of North Dakota, voted for it. The vote on the resolution ended the efforts of the minority to save the treaty.

The defeat of the treaty was witnessed by crowded galleries which followed the various manoeuvres with acute interest. Crowds stood in the corridors leading to the galleries, unable to get into the Senate Chamber.

In the votes on ratification, the full voting strength of the Senate was recorded except that of Senator Fall, who was at his home in New Mexico. He would have voted to reject the treaty.

#### VOTE ON LODGE RESOLUTION

The vote on the Lodge resolution of ratification came at 5:30 P. M., after the Senate had debated the treaty for five and a half hours. Senator McCumber of North Dakota had just made a four-minute speech, in which he told the Administration forces that, by assuming their attitude for unequivocal ratification of the treaty, they were "scuttling their own ship." As he sat down cries of "vote, vote, vote," came from all over the Chamber.

No other Senator arose to speak and the Vice President ruled that the majority resolution of ratification was "now before the Senate for vote."

The crowded galleries sat in tense silence as the roll was called. A murmur swept through them as the vote was announced, 55 to 39, by which the resolution was defeated.

The vote on the Lodge resolution was:

#### FOR THE RESOLUTION—39

Republicans—35

Ball,	Jones, Wash.,
Calder,	Kellogg,
Capper,	Kenyon,
Cole,	Keyes,
Cummins,	Lenroot,
Curtis,	Lodge,
Dillingham,	McCumber,
Edge,	McLean,
Elkins,	McNary,
Frelinghuysen,	Nelson,
Hale,	New,
Harding,	Newberry,

Page,	Sutherland,
Penrose,	Townsend,
Phipps,	Wadsworth,
Smoot,	Warren,
Spencer,	Watson.
Sterling,	

**Democrats—4.**

Gore,	Smith, Ga.,
Shields,	Walsh, Mass.

**AGAINST THE RESOLUTION—55.****Republicans—13.**

Borah,	La Follette,
Brandegee,	McCormick,
Fernald,	Moses,
France,	Norris,
Gronna,	Poindexter,
Johnson, Cal.,	Sherman.
Knox,	

**Democrats—42.**

Ashurst,	Overman,
Bankhead,	Owen,
Beckham,	Phelan,
Chamberlain,	Pittman,
Culberson,	Pomerene,
Dial,	Ransdell,
Fletcher,	Reed,
Gay,	Robinson,
Gerry,	Sheppard,
Harris,	Simmons,
Harrison,	Smith, Ariz.,
Henderson,	Smith, Md.,
Hitchcock,	Smith, S. C.,
Johnson, S. D.,	Stanley,
Jones, N. M.,	Swanson,
Kendrick,	Thomas,
King,	Trammell,
Kirby,	Underwood,
McKellar,	Walsh, Mon.,
Myers,	Williams,
Nugent,	Wolcott.

A motion was immediately made by Senator Reed to reconsider the vote in order to bring the resolution of ratification again before the Senate; it prevailed by a vote of 62 to 30. Various parliamentary moves followed, but the Republican majority voted down all efforts to outmanoeuvre them in their position. The second vote on the Lodge resolution, which followed, resulted in defeat by 41 to 50.

Senator Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, who in the meantime had been in conference with the Administration leaders, moved that the treaty, along with the majority resolution of ratification, be referred to a "Committee of Conciliation," composed of six Senators to be appointed by the President of the Senate. Those on the committee, he proposed, should comprise the majority leader, Senator Lodge, who would be

Chairman of the committee; Senator Hitchcock, the minority leader, and four other Senators to be named by the Chair. Under Senator Pomerene's proposal the committee would "prepare and report to the Senate such a resolution of ratification and reservation as, in their judgment, will meet the approval of not less than two-thirds of the Senate. Senator La Follette, Republican, of Wisconsin, moved to lay the resolution on the table and his motion was carried, 48 to 42.

The motion for unconditional ratification offered by Senator Underwood was defeated by 38 to 53. Senator McCumber, Republican, voted aye; Senators Gore, Reed, Shields, Smith (Ga.), Thomas, Trammell, Walsh (Mass.), all Democrats, voted no with the Republicans.

**THE RATIFYING RESOLUTION**

The following is the official text of the ratifying resolution offered by Senator Lodge, which met defeat:

*Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted by an exchange of notes as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by at least three of the four principal allied and associated powers, to wit, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan:*

1. The United States so understands and construes Article I. that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or

naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution so provide.

3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part I., or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

6. The United States withholds its assent to Articles CLVI., CLVII., and CLVIII., and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

7. The Congress of the United States will provide by law for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations, and may in its discretion provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, or conference, or in the selection of any members thereof and for the appointment of members of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences, or any other representatives under the treaty of peace, or in carrying out its provisions, and until such participation and appointment have been so provided for and the powers and duties

of such representatives have been defined by law, no person shall represent the United States under either said League of Nations or the treaty of peace with Germany or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder, and no citizen of the United States shall be selected or appointed as a member of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Senate of the United States.

8. The United States understands that the Reparations Commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

10. If the United States shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the Council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article VIII., it reserves the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI. of the covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than that violating said Article XVI., to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in Articles CCXCVI., CCXCVII., or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII. (Articles CCCLXXXVII. to CCCCCXXVII. inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII. and in such event the participation of the United States will be

governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

14. The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote, and assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member, or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

#### RESOLUTION TO DECLARE THE WAR ENDED

The following resolution offered by Senator Lodge just before the Senate adjourned was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Whereas by resolution of Congress adopted April 6, 1917, and by reason of acts committed by the then German Government, a state of war was declared to exist between that Government and the United States; and

Whereas the said acts of the German

Government have long since ceased; and

Whereas by an armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, hostilities between Germany and the allied and associated powers were terminated; and

Whereas by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles Germany is to be at peace with all the nations engaged in war against her whenever three Governments, designated therein, have ratified said treaty; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the said state of war between Germany and the United States is hereby declared to be at an end.

Following the adjournment of the Senate there was great activity among the friends of the treaty to bring about a compromise. President Wilson made no public utterance regarding the matter. In European countries general regret was expressed over the failure of the Senate to accept the treaty, but the feeling persisted that at the following session some compromise would be reached whereby the United States would ratify the treaty with reservations that would prove acceptable.

## Putting the Treaty Into Force

### Steps Taken by Allies to Start Machinery of Peace Pact Without the United States

**A**FTER receiving the news that the United States Senate had adjourned without consenting to the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles the peace delegates of France, England, and Italy at Paris decided to give up their long wait for America's participation, and on Nov. 21 the Supreme Council agreed upon Dec. 1, 1919, as the date for the final ceremonies that would put the treaty and all its machinery into operation. There was still great reluctance to undertake the work of the many commissions created under the treaty without the aid of the United States, and some sign of a change of heart at Washington was still awaited eagerly.

Meanwhile many further steps toward the final exchange of ratifications had

been made. The German "instrument of ratification" had reached Paris on July 11. Great Britain, Italy, and France, as related in detail a month ago, had furnished the three allied ratifications required by the treaty itself for putting the pact into force, but certain things besides American acceptance were still lacking. In England the treaty had received the assent of King George on July 31, but it had been arranged that the British ratification should not be fully completed until the dominions had passed their several measures in favor of the treaty. Both houses of Parliament in the four British dominions gave their approval as follows:

In the case of New Zealand resolutions were passed by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives on Sept. 2.

In the case of Canada resolutions were passed by the Senate and House of Commons on Sept. 4 and Sept. 11, respectively.

In the case of the Union of South Africa resolutions were passed by the Senate on Sept. 12 and by the House of Assembly on Sept. 10.

In the case of Australia resolutions were passed by the House of Representatives on Sept. 19 and by the Senate on Oct. 2.

King George completed the British ratification on Oct. 10 and dispatched his "instrument" to Paris on that date. The instrument included a copy of the Peace Treaty bearing the royal signature and the wafer Great Seal; the King's ratification on behalf of the British Empire; the protocol and the agreement concerning the Rhine Provinces, and the treaty respecting Poland. It was largely printed on vellum and magnificently bound in gold and embossed leather, the whole being held together by ribbons in the colors of the four great Orders of Chivalry. It was dispatched from London on Oct. 10 to Paris in charge of a King's messenger and deposited in the archives there.

The King of Italy had ratified the treaty by royal decree on Oct. 7, thus being the first of the "principal allied and associated powers" to complete the task of ratification; the measure, however, still awaited action by Parliament, which was not in session, before becoming a national law.

#### RATIFICATION BY FRANCE

The French ratification, the third in order, having received the approval of the Chamber and Senate on Oct. 2 and 11, respectively, was formally completed on Oct. 13, when the Journal Officiel contained this laconic item: "On Oct. 13, 1919, the President of the French Republic signed the instrument ratifying the treaty of peace with Germany and other documents signed at Versailles June 28, 1919, in order that these might be deposited in conformity with the final clauses of said treaty." The instrument signed by President Poincaré consists of a copy of the Treaty of Versailles preceded by a sheet of paper on which is written:

From Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, to all those who shall see this, Salutation!

A second sheet, placed at the end of the treaty, bears the following:

Having examined the said treaty, we have approved and do approve it by virtue of the provisions of the law voted by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. We declare that it is accepted, ratified, and confirmed; and we promise that it will be inviolably observed.

In token of which we have given the present document bearing the seal of the republic.

Done at Paris, Oct. 13, 1919.

**RAYMOND POINCARE,**

President of the Republic.

**S. PICHON,**

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

#### JAPAN'S RATIFICATION

Japan, the fourth of the great powers to accept, ratified the peace of Versailles on Oct. 30. Three days previously the Privy Council had approved it at a meeting over which the Emperor presided. Some of the members had criticised the Government, and complained that the delegates to Paris had not been sufficiently prepared, blaming them for having accepted without protest the waiver of indemnity for the maintenance of prisoners of war. It was pointed out that Japan, unlike her allies, had no prisoners in Germany to counterbalance the expense of caring for enemy prisoners in Japan. Regarding the Shantung issue, it was decided that the United States Senate's rejection of the Shantung amendment removed any obstacle of courtesy that might stand in the way of Japan's immediate adoption of the treaty.

The committee, headed by Viscount Kiyoura, in its report dwelt particularly on the view that as the ratification by the Emperor was tantamount to imperial assent to the League of Nations, the League would not encroach upon the prerogatives of the Emperor; also that it would not interfere with the alliance with England. This satisfied the critics in the council, who had feared that the League would hopelessly fetter the future of Japan. The report pointed out that the League covenant permitted the withdrawal of Japan under stated conditions. Finally, after unanimous approval without reservations, the treaty was submitted to the Emperor, and received his signature on Oct. 30. No Par-

liamentary vote was necessary to complete the ratification.

The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, on Nov. 7, approved the Treaty of Versailles without discussion or amendment; before the vote was taken Deputy Joaquin Czorio paid a tribute to the work of President Wilson at the Peace Conference, characterizing him as the world's leader of human progress. The Senate took similar action after a short discussion on Nov. 11, and late that afternoon President Pessoa affixed his signature to the instrument of ratification. Thus Brazil officially ended her war with Germany on Armistice Day.

A semi-official message from Prague announced that the Czechoslovak National Assembly had adopted both the Versailles and St. Germain treaties on Nov. 7.

#### PROMULGATING THE TREATY

The principal steps that still remained to be taken after the first three powers had ratified the treaty were these: The formal exchange of the three ratifications by the powers concerned, and the deposit of the "instruments" in the archives of the French Foreign Office at Paris; drawing up the "procès-verbal," or formal record of the deposit of these instruments; then the promulgation of the treaty.

After the procès-verbal has been drawn up, the treaty must be promulgated in France by a special decree inserted in the Journal Officiel, whose first article, according to the Paris Temps, will read about as follows: "The Senate and Chamber of Deputies having approved the treaty signed June 28, 1919, at Versailles, between France \* \* \* and Germany, and the ratifications of this act having been exchanged at Paris, the said treaty, whose substance follows, will receive its full and entire execution." Finally will come the putting into force of the treaty with all its machinery of executive boards and commissions. The whole series of formalities can be completed in a short time.

Besides bringing the League of Nations formally into existence, the promulgation of the Peace Treaty by the powers which have already ratified it

will bring into force a prodigious list of obligations which must be performed by Germany. They touch upon great and small matters in many parts of the world, and are subject to time limits ranging from fifteen days to fifteen years.

A number of commissions, including that which is to take charge of the Sarre Basin and the one which is to delimit the Polish-German frontier, are to be set up within fifteen days of the establishment of peace.

Within three months the German Army must be reduced to 200,000 effectives, all unauthorized munition plants must be closed. Germany must hand over all her military and naval aeronautical equipment, including the remnants of her once proud Zeppelin fleet, and must modify her laws to conform with various treaty provisions.

The time limit for the reduction of the German Navy personnel to its prescribed strength is two months, and by the same date the German warships named in the treaty must be delivered to the Allies. One month is the limit for the delivery of the last scrap of submarine equipment. The German forts which the treaty names must be disarmed within two months and dismantled within six.

The date of May 1, 1921, is stipulated as the limit for Germany's delivery to the Reparations Commission of her initial reparation payment of 20,000,000,-000 marks, and the commission is required by May 1, 1919, to notify Germany of the total damage claims to be filed against her by her late enemies. Germany immediately loses legal title to all her colonies and to all her surface warships not in home ports. Rights in Shantung pass formally to Japan and Great Britain's protectorate over Egypt is legalized.

Germany immediately accepts as binding upon her some fifty treaties relating to many subjects, and agrees to accept in future many other treaties yet to be negotiated by the Allies. Prisoners of war are to be repatriated, the treaty says, "as soon as possible" after the date of effective peace. German troops must be withdrawn from various sections, including portions of East Prussia and Poland,

within fifteen days. Coal deliveries to Belgium and France must begin at once.

#### FRANCO-BRITISH PACT

The supplementary treaty between Great Britain and France, by which Britain agrees to go to France's aid in the event of unwarranted German aggression, was advanced another step toward effectiveness in the evening of Nov. 20, when Stephen Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, and Sir Eyre Crewe, British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, exchanged ratifications of that treaty. Sir Eyre was the representative of Great Britain in the Supreme Council in the absence of Premier Lloyd George. The treaty does not come into full force until the similar treaty with the United States has been ratified.

Five additional countries indicated their adhesion to the League of Nations during the month. Chile gave official notice to that effect on Nov. 4. Colombia, through its Congress, gave provisional adhesion to the covenant on Nov. 10 and the action was approved by the President. The Senate of Paraguay on Nov. 13 voted for adhesion to the League and to the International Labor Organization. Holland announced through her Minister of Foreign Affairs on Nov. 15 that she intended to enter the League of Nations as soon as the Peace Treaty came into force. Switzerland's adhesion to the League was voted by the National Council at Berne on Nov. 19. The vote came after eight days of debate, the count being 124 in favor of joining the

League to 45 against. The decision of the council is subject to a referendum.

#### AUSTRIA RATIFIES TREATY

Ratification of the Treaty of St. Germain between Austria and the allied and associated powers was the first important business submitted to the Austrian National Assembly when it convened in Vienna on Oct. 14. Dr. Karl Seitz, the President of the Republic, presided over the sessions, and on Oct. 15 the treaty was referred to a special committee. This committee reported the treaty two days later with recommendation of its acceptance, and the National Assembly at once voted for its ratification without debate—on Oct. 17. The German party alone opposed it, that party being a unit in opposition.

On the same day a bill was introduced stipulating that the territory assigned to Austria by the Treaty of St. Germain should be a democratic republic to be known as "the Republic of Austria." Another provision in the bill abrogated the law of 1918, which had declared Austria to be an organic part of the German Empire. All these acts were in compliance with demands of the Peace Conference. On Oct. 25 President Seitz completed Austria's acceptance by signing the treaty. The peace of St. Germain will become effective when the formal notices of ratification by Austria and three of the principal allied and associated powers have been deposited in the French Foreign Office and this fact has been made public in a procès-verbal.

## Holding Germany to the Terms

**Extensive Violations of Armistice and Treaty Provisions  
Dealt With in a New Protocol**

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 20, 1919]

**T**HE question of the fulfillment of the reparation terms by Germany occupied the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference during October and November. Many details still remained to be worked out, but the coun-

cil's determination to insist on Germany's full responsibility for violations of the armistice terms, including the sinking of the German battleships at Scapa Flow and the maintenance of armed forces in the Baltic in the face of

repeated Entente protests, was made plain by the measures which it adopted. Such questions as the punishment of the German officials who had conducted or encouraged atrocities in France and Belgium, the failure of Germany to restore art treasures and machinery stolen from both of these countries, her double-dealing in the matter of the disposal of her ships, her arbitrary actions in respect to Danzig, and illegal methods in the preparation of plebiscites were considered and discussed.

One matter that came prominently to the fore was that of the delimitation of the territory of the Sarre Valley. In this district, which was occupied by French forces, serious troubles had occurred owing to various causes connected with the high cost of living, the lack of coal, and the scarcity of food staples, especially potatoes. Spartacist agitators, taking advantage of this, organized a revolt, which was put down by the French authorities after 10 persons had been killed and 600 others arrested. The delimitation of the portion of this territory to be administered by France was urgently necessary, but this could not be done by the council until the League of Nations was convened. The appointment of the Sarre Commission was scheduled for swift action as soon as the treaty came into force and the League should begin to function.

#### GERMANS STRIP DANZIG

Another matter that came to the council's attention was Germany's action in Danzig, which, by the terms of the treaty, was to be constituted as a free city. It was stated on Oct. 16 that the German authorities in this port were stripping both the city and the port of all objects of value; that they had sold naval shipyards, artillery magazines, State workshops and arsenals, and other institutions which had brought them in more than 275,000,000 marks. The value of the docks sold amounted to hundreds of millions. On Nov. 6 the German Government, in a communication addressed to the Danzig municipality, announced that it did not consider itself bound to surrender its authority over the city until the United States ratified the treaty, as

the terms of the treaty provided that this transfer must be made to the "principal allied and associated powers," among whom, the German note held, the United States must be included.

Meanwhile Sir Reginald Tower was appointed High Commissioner for Danzig under the Peace Treaty, and he took up his official duties at the beginning of November. By Article 101 of the Peace Treaty a commission of three members was to be constituted within fifteen days after the coming into force of the treaty; this commission was to be composed of a High Commissioner as President, one member to be appointed by Germany and one by Poland. Its main duty was to be the delimitation of the frontier of the future free city. At the date mentioned the members of the Entente Military Mission had reached Danzig.

In some respects Germany manifested her desire to fulfill the reparation demands laid upon her, notably in the establishment of a new Government censorship of all letters from and to England and America, devised to control tax-dodging and the sending of money out of Germany; but the Supreme Council was by no means satisfied with Germany's official acts in other directions. In the preparation of the coming plebiscites in Upper Silesia, Schleswig, Teschen, and Klagenfurt the German methods adopted to secure control were particularly obnoxious to the council, which received many complaints of the German proceedings.

#### GERMANS TERRORIZE SILESIA

In Upper Silesia the Poles charged that 200,000 German troops had been brought in, and that every one who had ever been in Silesia was being traced down and given free transportation to enable him to cast his vote in the disputed district. The Germans, they also declared, were terrorizing the Polish population and killing many Poles. Complaints of German activities in Schleswig were also received by the council. In all the regions where plebiscites were to be held, provision for the sending of allied troops had been decided upon under the treaty.

An example of the German method of preparing for plebiscites was embodied in an appeal made by the Government to the German people on Oct. 15, which called the Peace Treaty "dreadful" and "unbearable," especially with regard to the loss of German territory. All the territories to be disposed of by plebiscite, said this appeal, could be saved to Germany if every German did his duty at the voting time. Every former citizen of any of these districts was urged in fervent language to return to his former home "to perform an act which future historians will classify with the great deeds of the past."

#### ARMISTICE TERMS VIOLATED

Discussion of the terms of the armistice which Germany had not fulfilled was begun by the Supreme Council on Oct. 29. At this meeting military, naval, and financial reports were presented on violations of these terms, including the following transgressions: the presence of German soldiers in the Baltic, the sinking of the ships of war at Scapa Flow, and the failure of Germany to restore art treasures, machinery, and agricultural implements stolen from France and Belgium. Other violations of less importance were also cited. To deal with those not covered by the treaty a special protocol was drafted and forwarded, with a letter, to Germany on Nov. 6. The text of this letter, which dealt also with the question of ratification, was as follows:

By the terms of the final provisions of the treaty signed at Versailles June 28, 1919, it has been stipulated that "A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand and by three of the principal allied and associated powers on the other hand."

The President of the Peace Conference had the honor of calling to the attention of the Government that three of the principal allied and associated powers, namely, the British Empire, France, and Italy, have ratified, and Germany, on the other hand, having also ratified the treaty, the condition referred to above has been fulfilled.

The other allied and associated powers who have up to the present time made known their ratification are Belgium, Poland, and Siam.

In compliance with the said provisions, and if the various acts necessary to the coming into force of the treaty be fulfilled in time, there will take place in Paris, at a date which will be announced later, and notification of which will be given five days in advance, a procès-verbal of the deposit of these ratifications, at which the German Government is requested to participate. The final provisions of the treaty add: "From the date of this first procès-verbal the treaty will come into force between the high contracting parties who have ratified. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present treaty this date will be the date of the coming in force of the treaty."

The principal allied and associated powers have decided that the treaty shall not go into force until the execution of the obligations which Germany had by the armistice convention and the additional agreements undertaken to fulfill, and which have not received satisfaction, shall have been fully carried out.

The German Government is therefore asked to give to the German representatives authorized to sign the procès-verbal of the deposits of ratification full powers to sign at the same time the protocol, of which a copy is hereto annexed, and which provides without further delay for this settlement.

The German Government therefore is now invited to send to Paris, by Nov. 10, 1919, duly qualified representatives for this purpose to:

1. Arrange in agreement with the representatives of the allied and associated powers the conditions for the setting up of the commissions of government, of administration, and of plebiscite, the holding over of powers, the transfer of services, the entry of interallied troops, the evacuation of German troops, the replacement of the said German authorities, and all other measures above provided for. Attention is now called to the fact that the German authorities must leave intact all service organizations and officers as well as the documents required by the interallied authorities for the immediate entry on their duties, and that the German troops must also leave intact all the establishments which they occupy.

2. Agree with the staff of the Marshal, Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies, as to the conditions of transport of interallied troops.

#### TEXT OF PROTOCOL

The text of the proposed protocol, transmitted at the same time, was as follows:

Protocol: At the very time of proceeding to the first deposit of ratifications of the Peace Treaty it was ascertained that

the following obligations which Germany had agreed to execute, in the armistice conventions and the complementary agreements, have not been executed or have not received full satisfaction, viz.:

First—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 7: Obligation of delivering 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 cars. Forty-two locomotives and 4,480 cars are still to be delivered.

Second—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 12: Obligation of withdrawing within the frontiers of Germany the German troops which are in Russian territory as soon as the Allies judge the time proper. The withdrawal of troops has not yet been executed, in spite of the reiterated injunctions of Aug. 27, Sept. 27, and Oct. 10, 1919.

Third—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 14: Obligation to discontinue immediately all requisition, seizures, or coercive measures in Russian territory. The German troops continue to use these methods.

Fourth—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 19: Obligation of immediate delivery of all documents, specie, values of property and finance, with all issuing apparatus, concerning public or private interests in the invaded countries. The complete statements of the specie and securities removed, collected, or confiscated by the Germans in the invaded countries have not been delivered.

Fifth—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 22: Obligation of delivering all German submarines. Destruction of the German submarine UC-48 off Ferrol, by order of her German commander, and the destruction in the North Sea of certain submarines proceeding to England for delivery.

Sixth—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 23: Obligation of maintaining in the allied ports the German battleships designated by the allied and associated powers, these ships being destined to be ultimately delivered. Clause 31: Obligation of not destroying any ship before delivery; on June 21, 1919, destruction at Scapa Flow of the said ships.

Seventh—Protocol of Dec. 17, 1918, annexed to the Armistice Convention of Dec. 13, 1918: Obligation of restoring all works of art and artistic documents removed from France and Belgium. All works of art were transported into unoccupied Germany and have not been restored.

Eighth—Armistice Convention of Jan. 15, 1919, Clause III. and Protocol 392-1, additional Clause III. of July 25, 1919: Obligation of delivering agricultural implements in lieu of the supplementary railroad material provided for in Tables 1 and 2 and annexed to the protocol at Spa of Dec. 17, 1918. The following were not delivered on the date fixed (Oct. 1, 1919): Forty "Heucka" plowing outfits, all the

personnel necessary to operate the apparatus, all the spades, 1,500 shovels, 1,130 plows, T. M. 23-26; 1,765 plows, T. F. 18 21; 1,512 plows, T. F. 23 26; 629 Belgian plows, T. F. O. M. 20; 1,205 Belgian plows, T. F. O. M. 26; 4,282 harrows of 2 K 500; 2,157 steel cultivators; 966 fertilizer spreaders, 2 M. 50; 1,608 fertilizer spreaders, 3 M. 50.

Ninth—Armistice Convention of Jan. 16, 1919, Clause 6: Obligation of restoring the industrial material removed from French and Belgian territories. All this material has not been restored.

Tenth—Convention of Jan. 16, 1919, Clause 8: Obligation of placing the entire German merchant fleet at the disposal of the allied and associated powers. A certain number of ships of which delivery had been requested by virtue of this clause have not yet been delivered.

Eleventh—Protocols of the Brussels Conference of March 13 and 14, 1919: Obligations of not exporting any war material of any nature. Exportation of aerial material to Sweden, Holland, and Denmark.

A certain number of the above unexecuted or incompletely executed stipulations were renewed by the treaty of June 28, 1919, the going into force of which will of right render applicable the sanctions provided for. This applies in particular to the various payments in kind stipulated as reparations.

On the other hand, the question of the evacuation of the Baltic provinces was the object of an exchange of notes and decisions which are in course of execution. The allied and associated powers expressly confirm the contents of their notes, the execution of which Germany by the present protocol agrees to carry out loyally and strictly.

Lastly, the allied and associated powers cannot overlook or sanction the other infractions committed against the armistice conventions, and violations as serious as the destruction of the German fleet at Scapa Flow, the destruction of the submarine UC-48 off Ferrol and the destruction in the North Sea of certain submarines proceeding to England for delivery. Consequently Germany agrees:

First (A)—To deliver as reparation for the destruction of the German fleet at Scapa Flow:

(a) Within a period of sixty days from the signing of the present protocol and under the conditions provided for by Paragraph 2 of Article CLXXXV. of the treaty of peace, the following five light cruisers: Königsberg, Pillau, Graudens, Regensburg, Strassburg.

(B) Within a period of ninety days from the signing of the present protocol and in all respects in good condition and ready to function, such a number of floating docks, floating cranes, tugs and dredges equivalent to a total displacement of

400,000 tons as the principal allied and associated powers may demand. As regards the docks the lifting power will be considered as displacement. In the number of docks above provided for there should be about 75 per cent. of docks of over 10,000 tons.

(b) To be delivered within a period of ten days from the signing of the present protocol: A complete list of all the floating docks, floating cranes, tugs and dredges which are German property. List which will be delivered to the Interallied Naval Control Commission provided for by Article CCIX. of the peace treaty will include the material which on Nov. 11, 1918, belonged to the German Government or in which the German Government had an important interest at that date.

(c) The officers and men who formed the crews of the battleships sunk at Scapa Flow, and who are actually detained by the principal allied and associated powers, with the exception of those who surrendered, as provided for by Article 228 of the Peace Treaty, will be repatriated at the latest when Germany shall have completed the above Paragraphs A and B.

(d) The destroyer B-98 will be considered as one of the forty-two destroyers the delivery of which is provided for by Article 185 of the Peace Treaty.

Second—To deliver within a period of ten days from the signing of the present protocol the machines and engines of the submarines U-137, U-138, and U-150, to offset the destruction of the submarine UC-48, as well as the three engines of the submarine U-146, which is still to be delivered to offset the destruction of submarines in the North Sea.

Third—To pay to the allied and associated Governments the value of the exported aerial material according to the decision and estimation which will be made and notified by the Aerial Control Commission provided for by Article 210 of the Peace Treaty and before Jan. 1, 1920.

In case Germany should not fulfill these obligations within the time above specified, the allied and associated powers reserve the right to have recourse to any coercive measures or other which they may deem appropriate.

The date set for the signing of this protocol by Germany's representatives, Nov. 10, 1919, came and passed, but the German delegation did not appear until a week later. It was made up as follows: Herr von Simson, Director of the Office of Foreign Affairs in Berlin; Herr Gauss, Counselor of Legation; Herr Loehrs, Captain von Gayern, Major

Michaelis, and Herr von Boeticher. Baron Kurt von Lersner, German representative in Paris, sat with the commission. After a preliminary session, however, the whole delegation returned to Berlin on Nov. 22, leaving the matter in suspense.

#### QUESTIONS OF OCCUPATION

The question of the expenses of the occupation by the allied troops in Germany was referred to the Sub-Committee on Reparations on Oct. 1. France requested that these expenses be calculated in accordance with the French tariff. M. Rolin-Jacquemyns, Belgian High Commissioner in the Rhineland, proceeded to Coblenz early in October, where the sessions of the Interallied Commission, composed of four members, representing respectively Belgium, Great Britain, France, and America, were to be held. Command of the interallied troops of occupation of the Rhine was taken over by General Degoutte, hero of the great Marne counterstroke in July, 1918, to replace General Fayolle, who was to head the Interallied Commission to supervise the disarmament of Germany.

Another change announced was the appointment of André Tardieu, head of the General Commission for Franco-American War Matters, as Minister of Blockade and Invaded Regions in the place of Albert Lebrun, whose resignation M. Clemenceau had demanded on Nov. 6, on the ground that he was running for election as a Deputy on the same ticket with Louis Marin, who cast his vote against ratification of the Peace Treaty by the Chamber of Deputies.

#### BELGIAN QUESTIONS

The measures taken by the Belgian Government in occupying the districts of Eupen and Malmedy were made the subject of strong protests by the German Government in notes to the Entente powers dated Sept. 1 and Sept. 5. In answer, the Supreme Council pointed out on Sept. 26 that Germany had renounced all rights in these territories in favor of Belgium, on the understanding that a part or all of them might revert to Germany under the League of Nations on

the basis of a plebiscite; meanwhile they were uncontestedly under the sovereignty of Belgium, which had signified its consent to enter into pourparlers with Germany regarding the execution of the treaty in these territories, as well as in neutral and Prussian Moresnet.

The Belgian Minister on Oct. 28 gave Belgium's approval to a list of 1,150 Germans, soldiers and civilians, whose arrest was demanded on charges arising from violation of the laws of war at the time of the invasion of Belgium, or during the occupation of that country by German troops. This list was sent to the Peace Conference on Nov. 5. The indictments were based principally on the executions of civilians at Louvain and other towns, on the deportation of workmen, on forced labor exacted from prisoners of war, on the treatment of young men who attempted to cross the frontier to join the Belgian Army, and on pillage.

#### WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION

The report of the German Mining Commission sent to France to ascertain the extent of the damage done by the

Germans in the devastated regions stated that the work of construction would have to be done "from the ground up," especially in the Departments of Pas de Calais, Courrière, Lens, Lievin, Drocourt, Mourchin, Carvin and Dourgas, where the damage done was "terrible." Most of the mines, the report said, had been "drowned," and in rebuilding new shafts they would have to be protected against the inward pressure of the water. The work of reconstruction was one of great difficulty, and the extent of damage was in many cases impossible to ascertain; location of responsibility, also, the report, stated, would be hard to make, owing to the inadequacy of military records showing the chronological location of the military units. Commenting upon this report, the German newspaper *Vorwärts* declared that there was enough work to be done in reconstructing these mines to keep all the unemployed of Germany busy for the next eight years, and that this showed the fallacy of the frequently expressed theory that the emigration of thousands of people from Germany was an economic necessity.

## Work of the Peace Conference

### Many Momentous Problems Occupy the Historic Paris Congress in Its Last Sessions

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 20, 1919]

MANY questions of international importance were discussed, and some were decided, in the final weeks of the Peace Conference at Paris; others, which could not be settled before the imminent dissolution of the conference, were covered by the creation of special machinery devised to function after the body which for so many months had virtually ruled the whole of Europe had broken up. The great difficulties facing the conference in October and November were the German-Russian imbroglio in the Baltic, and the continued defiance of Rumania, whose armed forces remained in Bud-

apest despite the sending of no fewer than nine notes demanding their evacuation, and whose Government approved the annexation of the Province of Bessarabia contrary to the decisions of the Supreme Council.

The note which the Supreme Council dispatched to Germany inviting her, in common with the allied and neutral nations of Europe, to participate in the blockade of Soviet Russia, was published in the November CURRENT HISTORY. It was announced from Berlin on Oct. 26 that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly had agreed with the Government that the invitation to

share in such a blockade must be declined, and that all the party committees had accepted this decision unanimously. The reply to the allied invitation was subsequently drafted and dispatched to Marshal Foch. In this reply Germany stated that she declined to participate on the ground that she did not believe that such a blockade would achieve the desired end, as all coercive steps would lead to Russian reaction, but added that Germany was prepared to co-operate in any other measures against the Bolshevik régime which would prove effective. The note also pointed out that, according to the articles of the League of Nations, a blockade would not be justified at that time. The opportunity was seized to ask that the blockade against Germany be completely removed, and that all German ships held in Baltic harbors be restored to their owners. The Supreme Council referred the German reply to the proper commission for consideration and reply.

In view of the obstinate refusal of the troops of General von der Goltz to leave Courland, the Supreme Council sent several notes to the German Government demanding that it take more effective measures to secure this evacuation, under penalty of a re-establishment of the economic blockade existing before the armistice. Against such a prospect the German Government protested vigorously, asserting that it had done all in its power to recall these insubordinate troops, and asking that an interallied commission be appointed to proceed to Berlin, and then to the Baltic, to control the situation.

#### INTERALLIED BALTIC COMMISSION

Such a commission was subsequently appointed by the Supreme Council, under the official title of the Allied Commission to Supervise the Evacuation of the Baltic Provinces, and was made up as follows: General Niessel, representing France, President; General Turner, England; General Marietti, Italy; Commandant Takeda, Japan; Brig. Gen. S. A. Cheney, United States. General Niessel had been much in Russia under the Bolsheviks, and spoke Russian fluently; formerly he had been a member of the Interallied Commission to Posen. This

commission left for Berlin early in November, where it began an investigation of the Allies' suspicions that the German Government was not free from complicity in the failure of General von der Goltz's troops to withdraw, and discussed the question of control of the railroad lines running from East Prussia to Courland. After the completion of the Berlin discussions, the commission was charged to proceed to Riga to bring about, by persuasion or sterner measures, the dispersal of the Germano-Russian troops under Colonel Avalov-Bermondt who had attacked the Letts in Riga.

With regard to complaints against German activities in the plebiscite regions in Schleswig and Upper Silesia, and the Polish complaint that the Germans were holding municipal elections in the latter district, although these elections were scheduled to take place only after the arrival of the mission to organize the plebiscite, word was sent to Germany that the results of these elections—which turned out to be in favor of the Polish element—must be disregarded.

Foreign Minister Trumbitch of Serbia, who arrived in Paris on Oct. 23 from Belgrade, brought with him authorization from his Government to sign the Austrian Peace Treaty under reservations. Serbia, like Rumania, had failed to sign the Austrian treaty because of objections on the part of the Jugoslavs to the clause dealing with racial minorities. The signature of Rumania was promised by the latter country on Nov. 6. The Austrian delegation handed the Peace Conference the document of ratification of the treaty on the following day.

On Oct. 25 the Supreme Council adopted instructions for the commission appointed to conduct the plebiscite in the disputed district of Teschen and to determine whether the region was to be allotted to Czechoslovakia or Poland. Regarding this latter country, the council was still considering the future of Eastern Galicia, formerly Austrian territory, though now for some time occupied by Polish troops. It also decided on Nov. 3 to request the Polish Government to open to traffic certain railroads crossing the German-Polish frontier north of Warsaw.

### RUMANIA'S DEFIANCE

The Rumanian Government's defiance of the wishes of the Supreme Council in respect to the evacuation of Hungary by the Rumanian Army continued week after week. On Oct. 16 Frank L. Polk, Under Secretary of State and head of the American peace delegation at Paris, submitted to the council a telegram from the Interallied Mission at Budapest, which complained of the action of the Rumanians in Hungary, particularly concerning their requisitions of foodstuffs on a large scale, and their preventing the distribution of what remained; it demanded in forcible terms that the Rumanians withdraw from Hungary and make restitution. The council commissioned Sir George Clerk to proceed immediately to Budapest to inform the mission that the council had already sent a note to the Rumanians demanding their immediate withdrawal, and that it would insist on compliance with its demands. On Nov. 1, to add to the council's perplexities, Rumania's representatives announced the annexation by Rumania of the Province of Bessarabia, despite the council's warning of the serious consequences which this annexation might create and its proposal of a plebiscite. No action on Rumania's announcement was taken by the council at this time.

A further note, however, was sent to Rumania on Nov. 3 calling on her to answer the communication sent her three weeks before, which she had avoided until that time on a technicality. This note, dispatched on Oct. 12, called on the Bucharest Government to remove the Rumanian troops from Hungary, notified it that it must cease all efforts to obtain more territory for Rumania than the Peace Conference had assigned to it, and served notice that all "requisitions" on Hungary would result in diminishing the total of the reparations to which Rumania would be normally entitled. The text of the allied note of Nov. 3 was as follows:

The Supreme Council has decided to request the allied Ministers at Bucharest to notify jointly, without delay, the Rumanian Government of the fact that it was unfavorably impressed upon learning that General Conda, sent as special envoy to

Paris by the Rumanian Ministry, arrived without the Rumanian reply to the last note from the powers under the pretext that the Italian Minister had not taken this step at the same time as France, England, and the United States.

The Supreme Council expresses the formal desire to obtain within the shortest time a brief and clear reply from the Rumanian Government on all the points discussed. As the situation in Hungary demands an early decision in order to insure the re-establishment of normal conditions, which is absolutely essential for the security of Central Europe, the principal allied and associated powers cannot allow Rumania to prolong dilatory negotiations on the three questions stated Oct. 12 last.

Please communicate this in the name of the conference collectively with your colleagues, who need not wait for special instructions from their Governments owing to the urgency of the situation.

PICHON.

### RUMANIA'S EVASIVE REPLY

Rumania's answer was received and read to the Supreme Council on Nov. 12. This reply stated that the Rumanian troops were being withdrawn to the River Theiss, but made no mention of any further evacuation. As the River Theiss lies far to the west both of the boundary line between Hungary and Rumania laid down by the Peace Conference and the line which the Rumanians themselves have demanded, this reply was deemed by the council as inadequate and unsatisfactory. Regarding the question of requisitions in Hungary and the signing of the Austrian treaty the reply evaded all commitment. Reports reaching the conference confirmed the Rumanian withdrawal to the River Theiss, which was said to be attended with great disorder, and the levying of requisitions on an unprecedented scale.

Hungarian troops, under Admiral Horthy, entered Budapest on Nov. 15. The council voted that a new note to Rumania should be drafted, calling on her to declare her intentions in regard to withdrawal to the line desired and as to signing the Austrian treaty within one week.

Shortly after the conclusion of the session, at which this decision was taken, Rumania's representatives dispatched to the Foreign Office notice of a telegram sent on Nov. 6 from Bucharest, which

stated that the Rumanian Government would sign the Austrian treaty with the clause on racial minorities, but would demand an understanding as to the spirit in which this article would find application.

This left outstanding disputes with Rumania over the subject of requisitions in Hungary, and the question of her future boundaries, including Bessarabia. Regarding these boundaries, it was reported in Paris on Oct. 24 that Rumania's demands for a rectification of the frontiers fixed for the western borders, involving a removal of her boundary with Hungary to a point fourteen miles to the west of the point fixed by the Supreme Council, had been refused. The vexed question of the disposition of the Banat of Temesvar had been settled at this time by dividing this territory between Rumania and Serbia; the frontier was minutely defined in a note communicated by Secretary Dutasta of the Peace Conference to both of the nations involved. According to this division Serbia received most of the rich agricultural plain adjoining Serbia on the north, and two-thirds of the waterways, while Rumania received the eastern half of the Banat, including several important industrial towns.

Besides the difficulty involved in compelling Rumania to evacuate Budapest, the council was faced with the vexation of being unable to conclude terms of peace with Hungary, owing to the continuance in office of the Cabinet of the Hungarian Minister, Stepan Friedrich, reports of whose monarchical proclivities had reached the council's ears, and whose Government had never been recognized by the Entente Powers. Energetic measures were taken on Nov. 12, when Sir George Clerk, the allied emissary, on his arrival at Budapest, delivered an ultimatum to Premier Friedrich, notifying him that a Coalition Cabinet must be formed within forty-eight hours, or he himself resign his office.

#### GREEK OCCUPATION OF SMYRNA

The report of the commission appointed to investigate the Greek occupation of Smyrna was approved by the council on Nov. 12, at which date it was decided to

ask the Greek authorities to insure that order be maintained in future, and that there be no recurrence of such anti-Turkish aggressions as those of which Turkey had complained after the Greek occupation, and also to notify the Greeks that their military occupation of Smyrna must be understood to be only provisional and temporary.

M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, announced in Paris on Nov. 15 that he had asked for a new investigation, and urged that the commission's findings be rejected, on the ground that no Greeks had been appointed on the commission, and no Greek testimony had been accepted. As regards the duration of the occupation, M. Venizelos stated that it had been his understanding that the Greeks should occupy permanently "a country which has been Greek for 3,000 years."

#### BULGARIA'S ACCEPTANCE

Bulgaria's reply to the peace terms of the allied powers was delivered on Oct. 24, the last day of the time limit set for its receipt. The answer comprised three pamphlets. The first of these related to the political and labor clauses, the second to the territorial provisions, and the third to the military, naval, aerial, and reparations terms. The reply was moderate in tone, and adhered unreservedly to the clauses concerning the League of Nations and labor. It accepted the principle of the protection of minorities in Bulgaria on condition that the same measures be applied to other Balkan States. The reply, however, made reservations regarding reparations, and protested especially against the total sum demanded of Bulgaria. It asked for the suppression of interest charges, and requested an extension of the time limit for payment. Regarding the military clauses, Bulgaria objected to the voluntary enlistment system, maintaining that conscription alone could produce sufficient forces to preserve order.

The longest part of the reply dealt with territorial clauses, and protested against modifications of frontiers on ethnical grounds. Quoting statistics extensively, it proposed a plebiscite in Thrace, and the formation of this region into an autonomous State. The various

subdivisions of the Bulgarian reply were submitted to the proper commissions for reports, on the basis of which the council would formulate its answer.

This answer, which made but slight concessions to the Bulgarians' demands, was completed by Nov. 1 and submitted to the Bulgar representatives the following day; a time limit of ten days was set for Bulgaria's final decision. The council likewise considered the terms of a note to be sent to the Rumanian and Jugoslav Governments, setting forth the status of those Governments with regard to the Bulgarian treaty, and informing them that it would be impossible for them to sign this treaty so long as they withheld their consent to sign the treaty with Austria. Subsequently the consent of both of the countries involved was transmitted to the council.

The Bulgarian peace delegation on Nov. 13 sent an official note to the council announcing that Bulgaria was prepared to sign the treaty. M. Stambulisky, the Bulgarian Premier, had left Sofia for Paris to complete the ceremony.

In a statement issued at Boston on Nov. 7 the League of Friends of Greece in America assailed the terms of the treaty with Bulgaria. This statement said in part:

The treaty is unjust to Greece, Serbia, and Rumania. The Bulgarian troops, under orders from Sofia, have annihilated half of the Serbian populations, have desolated Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace. Despite all these crimes, Bulgaria has lost no Bulgarian territory. Western Thrace is Greek, not Bulgarian, yet Bulgaria is given by the Bulgarian treaty 250,000 inhabitants of Thrace, of whom only 35,000 are Bulgarians, the others Turks and Greeks.

#### NEW COMMISSION CREATED

With the prospect that the Bulgarian treaty would be signed, the labors of the conference drew appreciably nearer to their logical termination. Many problems, however, after the expected dissolution of the conference in December would be left in abeyance. Besides the League of Nations a plan was formed for the future conduct of European affairs by means of a new commission, whose creation was announced about Oct. 16 as a co-ordinating committee to which the

various sub-committees created by the Versailles treaty would report from time to time. On Oct. 21 this body assumed the name of "The Committee for the Enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles."

This new commission was to concern itself not only with the enforcement of the German treaty, but with the enforcement of all treaties made by the Peace Conference. While the League of Nations Council would receive reports from the League committees, the Enforcement Commission would receive reports from other committees. The underlying reason for the creation of the new commission was to make sure that there should be some organization to represent the allied nations authoritatively at all times, whether the League of Nations functioned smoothly or with difficulty. Effectiveness was to be given to the decisions of the commission by the support of the Reparations Commissions, which, in case of any emergency, would bring pressure to bear upon the former enemies of the Entente.

The ceremony of formally putting in force the treaty of Versailles was still deferred pending the much-hoped-for ratification by the United States. The possibility that the American Senate, however, might defeat the ratification measure was given due consideration by the Supreme Council, and on Nov. 10 the council reached an agreement on the procedure for convoking the first council of the League of Nations without the participation of the United States, though admitting the difficulties in the way of executing the treaty without American participation in the numerous Interallied Commissions on Reparations, Control, and Military Occupation.

Belgium's request that the seat of the League of Nations be changed to Brussels, the council decided, would be placed before the first meeting of the Assembly of the League. This first meeting, it was also decided, would take place in Paris on the day when the final exchange of ratifications took place. The call for this meeting would be issued by President Wilson after the date for the exchange of ratifications was finally decided.

A note was dispatched to Germany on Nov. 2 inviting her to send a deputation to attend the ratification ceremony and sign a protocol assuming responsibility for the fulfillment of certain terms of the armistice; also agreeing to make good in actual payment the loss of the ships sunk at Scapa Flow, as well as to surrender 400,000 tons of floating docks, tugs, and other naval equipment. In this note no mention was made of the inter-allied blockade of Soviet Russia, in which Germany, as well as several neutral nations, including Sweden and Switzerland, had declined participation, and this was taken in allied circles to be significant of the Entente's lack of belief that the blockade could be successfully maintained.

#### POLAND GETS GALICIA

The Supreme Council on Nov. 21 decided to turn over Eastern Galicia to Poland for twenty-five years, at the end of which the League of Nations will determine what to do with this territory. Eastern Galicia, with its 16,000,000 inhabitants, will be federated with Poland under a mandate, the arrangements for which will give Poland practically the government of the region.

This decision came after many weeks of discussion of the Galician problem. Poland asked for annexation outright, but this was opposed by England, which favored giving a mandate to Poland for five years, at the end of which time there would be a plebiscite. Paderewski opposed this solution, asserting that Galicia could not be reconstructed if for five years there was to be constant electioneering. The solution finally adopted was a compromise acceptable to Poland. The mandate is different from the mandates provided in the treaty as League of Nations mandates. It means that if Po-

land administers Galicia well for twenty-five years that area will become an integral part of Poland.

The council on Nov. 21 also approved the text of an agreement granting political suzerainty over the Spitzbergen Archipelago to Norway.

#### CONFERENCE NEARS CLOSE

It was stated in Paris that the Peace Conference would reach the end of its labors early in December. Both the British and American delegations expressed the opinion that the League of Nations should take over the functions of the Peace Conference as soon as possible, on the ground that the conference was originally charged with making peace, and not with governing the world. They favored leaving to a Committee of Ambassadors, with fixed powers, the winding up of the few specific tasks which might remain undone.

Matters still in abeyance at the time when these pages went to print were the dispute between Holland and Belgium over the revision of the treaty between these two countries; the settlement of the Adriatic problem, including the Fiume question; the final disposition of Dalmatia and Albania; the Germano-Russian Baltic problem; the persuasion or compulsion of the recalcitrant small powers, including Rumania, to fulfill their obligations; the securing of a stable Hungarian Government that could sign a peace treaty; the defining of the eastern boundary of Poland; the effecting of an arrangement whereby Greece, Rumania, and Serbia would sign treaties guaranteeing the rights of ethnical minorities, and the completing of arrangements, for control of plebiscites in Schleswig, Galicia, Upper Silesia, and elsewhere, where national territorial claims were still in conflict.



# D'Annunzio's Seizure of Zara

## Raid on the Dalmatian Coast

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 22, 1919]

**D**URING October and November the occupation of Fiume by the armed forces of Gabriele d'Annunzio continued. A dramatic message from d'Annunzio brought to Rome by Whitney Warren, the American architect, on Oct. 23, addressed Americans as "brothers" and implored their aid for Fiume, which, the message said, "is fighting for liberty."

At the Fuman elections, held on Oct. 27, the Annexationists won by a large majority, amid a great display of military strength by the d'Annunzian forces, Fiume was in a ferment. Walls and streets were placarded with slogans appealing to all citizens to vote as a patriotic duty, and denouncing as traitors all who did not vote for annexation. Only the Unions Nazionale was allowed to enter the field, and the only option was in the choice of forty candidates for the "National Council." The polls were guarded by gendarmes and soldiers. Girls and women went to vote with shouts of jubilation. Two American newspaper men were roughly handled.

Fiume, said a neutral at the time, was ruled by 9,000 bayonets, and everything was possible. The "elections," according to this view, were nothing but a farce. All comers and goers were held up and searched. All not in favor of Italy were considered traitors. The Sushak bridge was closed by d'Annunzio, barring all the Croats of that suburb from participating in the vote. Results of the election received in Paris on Oct. 29 showed that 6,688 persons voted the straight annexationist ticket, 186 voted for the party led by Professor Zanella, d'Annunzio's opponent in Fiume, and 3,189 of those registered did not vote.

### D'ANNUNZIO'S STATEMENT

D'Annunzio in a statement of some length given on Oct. 31 to a representative of The New York World set forth his entire case in a remarkable state-

ment, in which he declared that by the results of the recent elections Fiume had confirmed her declaration of May 18 that she alone had the right to decide her own fate. This statement was in part as follows:

Why did we make war? I asked a meeting of recruits one evening behind an embankment of the Plave, which had become a frontier of tremendous import. "To reacquire the summit of an Alp, a handful of land jutting into the sea or the bend of a gulf? Yes, surely, for these things as well, but the great reason is the cause of territory, the cause of the spirit, the cause of immortality."

The cause of territory has its limits and because it is only in Fiume today that people talk frankly and roughly amid so much senile chatter we shall persist in our frankness and our rudeness. The cause of territory has its limits. To the north of Fiume it must include Idria as far as the Toroid Balkans; the district of Idria (40 miles south of Flume), because by centuries of historical traditions and by the evidence of its configuration it belongs to the body of Italy. It has no sound frontier of itself, but forms the bulwark of the Alps of Ternova.

With Idria in our hands, Gorizia (15 miles northwest of Trieste) remains protected. If it be taken away from us Gorizia remains exposed to the Jugoslav guns. Italy has no raw materials. If she possessed Idria she would have at least one, mercury, in which the district is rich.

As Idria, so should Postumia be ours by rights. If we do not possess Postumia the waves of Balkan tribes, bitter waves of barbaric Slavs, will surge up to within twelve miles of the walls of Trieste. Without the district of Postumia we would leave in the hands of the Southern Slavs, Longatico, Nauperto, and perhaps Prevaldo, which from time immemorial, constitute the true gate of Italy, the Latin threshold against the northern and eastern incursions of the barbarians of all times.

And tomorrow the citizens of free Trieste on ascending one of the hills which crown St. Just could, with the naked eye, discern a railway equi-distant from Trieste and Flume, and he who dominates that railway has full command of their trade.

To renounce St. Pietro on Carso is to

renounce the district of Castelnuovo, twenty-two miles southwest of Trieste, which includes a large zone of Carso territory. (Carso, or Karst, consists of rugged platforms and mountain ranges rising east of the Adriatic. The chief range extends north of Istria from the Isonzo River to the Quarnero Gulf.)

Thus our adversary would occupy the crest of Middle Carso from Mount Aquila to Mount Maggiore, would dominate the Valley of the Timavo and so cut off Trieste from its aqueducts and its water works. The adversary would threaten from near the railway between Trieste and Pola, and by destroying its strategic value he would weaken the naval frontiers. Furthermore, we should lose the bulwark which consists of Mount Auremiano, Mount Tore and Mount Nevoso, which is our necessary frontier, and thus an absurd frontier would be traced between villages like that frontier which once existed in Friuli (now part of Udine).

Without Idria, without Postumia, without Castelnuovo, Italy's boundaries would remain in the hands of foreigners, would remain in the hands of Balkan tribes.

And not Fiume alone, but the whole of the Julian Veneto would be reduced to an Italian agony behind a broken frontier. When, on May 19, the Fiumians and Italians shouted in the face of the Supreme Council that the history written with Italy's most generous blood could not stop at Paris and that they firmly awaited violence, no matter whence it came, they announced thereby the fall of the old world.

Therefore, Fiume's cause is the biggest and finest opposed today to the meanness and weakness of this world. It stretches from Ireland to Egypt, from Russia to the United States, from Rumania to India. It embraces the white races and the black, it reconciles the gospel with the Korean, Christianity with Islam.

Every insurrection is an effort toward expression, an effort toward creation. No matter if it be interrupted by bloodshed, so long as the survivors pass on to the future the spirit of liberty and of a new life and the profound instinct of that indestructible relationship which binds people to their soil.

#### LEADER'S ADVICE TO ITALY

D'Annunzio on Nov. 8, in a statement made public by his Press Bureau, proposed that Italy decline to restore order in the Fiume situation at the behest of the Supreme Council. This statement was as follows:

The way out is wide, clear, direct. It is the same for us who entered the city Sept. 12.

I realize that the Italian Government persists in its erroneous judgment and increases it by accepting from the Supreme Council a mandate to restore order in Fiume, held by me.

I propose that the Italian Government send back the Fiume problem to the Peace Conference by returning the mandate, which it will be impossible to execute without shedding fraternal blood and without the danger of civil war throughout the nation.

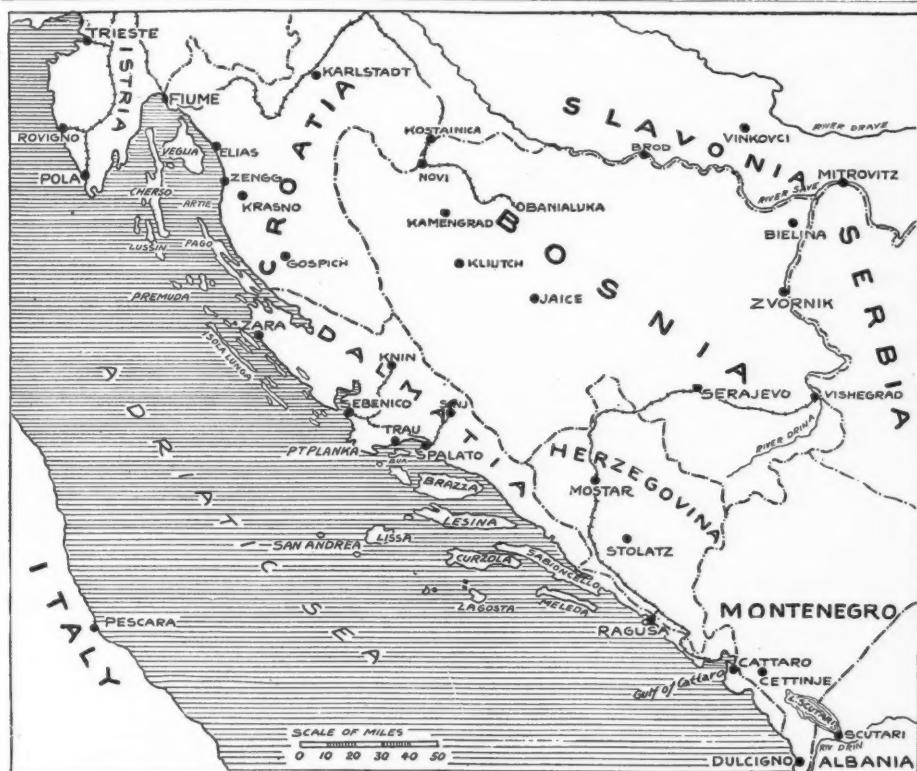
When the mandate is returned the Government of Fiume claims the honor of remaining solely responsible for its attitude before the conference and before the world.

Soon after the issuance of this statement the blockade of Fiume was officially lifted; food was passing freely into the city over the railway from Trieste, and commercial relations with the outside world had been resumed. Efforts were being made at this time by d'Annunzio's Government to stabilize the currency; all old Hungarian money had been invalidated, and Italian money was pouring in from all parts of Italy, which was being used by d'Annunzio to pay his soldiers and the expenses of his organization.

#### D'ANNUNZIO RAIDS DALMATIA

A dramatic development of d'Annunzio's campaign occurred on Nov. 15, when the poet-soldier landed at Zara, on the Dalmatian Coast, made a triumphal entry into the city amid enthusiastic acclamations from the populace with 600 troops, including Arditi, grenadiers, and d'Annunzio's entire staff, and announced its occupation. D'Annunzio had sailed from Fiume in the darkness of early morning on the torpedo boat Nullo, followed by the war fleet of Admiral Millo, who received him and publicly swore allegiance to him.

News that d'Annunzio had begun a new adventure soon reached Trieste and roused great excitement. The newspapers both there and at Rome were generally unsympathetic to the Dalmatian enterprise. D'Annunzio returned to Fiume on Nov. 16 and received a great ovation. His intention to occupy other territory, including Spalato and part of Istria, which he argued should form an independent State, was announced at this



FIUME AND THE DALMATIAN COAST, SCENE OF D'ANNUNZIO'S EXPLOITS

time. The dictator of Fiume was said at this time to have a force of 50,000 men, ample food supplies and equipment, and the favor of a large element of the regular army.

A semi-official statement issued in Rome on Nov. 22 declared that a minority of d'Annunzio's forces, counting on the support of friends in the interior of Italy, persisted in the idea of attempting seditious action against Italy itself, contemplating the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. In Zara, meanwhile, a Belgrade statement said that d'Annunzio's troops left in control had instituted a reign of terror, insulting and attacking all not wearing the armlet of Italian colors inscribed "Italy or Death!" Private advices reaching London on Nov. 22 left no doubt of d'Annunzio's intention of annexing the whole Dalmatian coast and attacking Montenegro. The situation was regarded as extremely grave. A Serbian division, 12,000 strong, was concentrated at Spalato on Nov. 22, ready to oppose the ad-

vance of d'Annunzio and his forces if he approached the city.

#### GOVERNMENT SENTIMENT CHANGING

The situation of the Italian Government, crushed with war debts, with its army still mobilized, and unable to secure a settlement of the Adriatic question with its allies, was made even more unpleasant by d'Annunzio's new activities. The defection of Admiral Millo to d'Annunzio at Zara was officially disapproved. In Rome, however, Premier Tittoni, in a letter to his constituents, came out boldly for an Italian Fiume, and reproached the Allies for not understanding that the question of Fiume had for the Italians not an economic but a moral significance.

No steps were taken to combat d'Annunzio's new activities, and up to the time when this edition of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press, the situation created by d'Annunzio's occupation of Zara remained unchanged.

# CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 20, 1919]

## KING ALBERT IN WASHINGTON

After touring the United States from New York and Boston to the cities of the Pacific Coast, everywhere encountering formal receptions and cordial addresses of welcome, King Albert, Queen Elizabeth, and Prince Leopold of Belgium arrived in Washington, D. C., on Oct. 28. Both Houses of Congress paused in their discussions on that date to give a hearty welcome to the royal guests. King Albert delivered short addresses before the Senate and the House, paying tribute to the American Army, to which he gave the credit of deciding the victory; to Brand Whitlock, the American Ambassador to Belgium when the war broke out, and to Herbert Hoover, the American Food Administrator. He predicted that the ties linking the United States with Belgium would never be broken, and offered thanks to all Americans who aided his people in the war. The galleries of both houses were crowded, and the King's remarks were greeted with the most enthusiastic applause. In the House many of the children of the members were present. Later in the day, at a reception in the home of the Assistant Secretary of State, Breckinridge Long, Secretary of War Baker pinned upon the King's breast, by the order of President Wilson, the American Distinguished Service Medal, in the presence of General Pershing, General March, and other military and civil notabilities. In the evening the King and Queen and their son were the guests of honor at a dinner given by Vice President Marshall, at which King Albert proposed a toast to President Wilson's speedy recovery from illness.

On Oct. 29 the Belgian monarchs visited Mount Vernon and placed a wreath of chrysanthemums on the granite slab of George Washington's tomb. In the course of the day the King was visited by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who after a 45-minute interview declared the

Belgian monarch to be "a real man, even if he is a King." In the evening the royal guests attended a dinner given by Secretary Lansing. On the following day King Albert and Queen Elizabeth made an informal visit to the bedside of President Wilson, with whom they had a cordial conversation, and on Oct. 31 the royal guests sailed on the American transport George Washington, after sending a heartfelt message of farewell to President Wilson by wireless. Before departure the King gave expression to the pleasure and interest of his visit to the United States, and on landing at Brest, Nov. 13, he again cabled his gratitude for the rare hospitality vouchsafed by the United States.

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## SUPPRESSING GERMAN OPERA

A GERMAN opera company in New York City attempted in October to produce operas in the German language, but public sentiment, voiced through the ex-soldiers who still had many comrades lying wounded in New York hospitals, refused to permit this form of art. After throngs of soldiers and sailors had practically stopped the performances in the Lexington Theatre, despite the attempts of a large force of policemen to keep order, Justice Leonard A. Giegerich of the State Supreme Court issued a decision dissolving an injunction which had restrained Mayor Hylan and the police from interfering with the production of German opera in the theatre named. Justice Giegerich based his decision on the state of feeling consequent on the war, which made the performance of opera in the German language a provocation to a large proportion of the community. All performances of this kind were prohibited until after the Peace Treaty had been ratified by the United States.

A curious contrast to this action in the United States was afforded by the announcement from Paris on Nov. 9 that a performance of Wagnerian music had

been given on the preceding day at the Pas de Loup Concert, and had elicited only two isolated protests in the audience; the protestors, a man and a woman, were ushered out, and the conductor of the concert, René Baton, declared that interruptions against German music would not be tolerated. He regarded it as a pure question of art, and said that he proposed to include at least 20 per cent. of German music in his programs. A vote of three Pas de Loup concert audiences on the subject resulted in 4,983 favoring the return of German music and 213 opposing it.

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#### EXPLOITS OF A MASTER SPY

**CAPTAIN FRITZ DUQUESNE**, a former Boer officer, is being hunted in Mexico by British and American Secret Service agents on charges of arson and murder. Duquesne, according to evidence in hand, was Germany's most daring spy in America, and was responsible for many "sink without a trace" plots against British shipping. Information gathered by the British Secret Service showed that Duquesne operated during the war as head of a desperate gang in South America. Their principal exploits were related to attempts to destroy allied shipping, including the following list of outrages:

Destruction of the steamship San Salvador by fire.

Narrow escape from complete destruction by S. S. Vauban.

Burning of coaling station at Bahia.

Destruction of the Pembrokeshire in the Atlantic.

Bursting of boilers of the liner Liger, through dynamite mixed with the coal.

Dynamiting of the steamship Tennyson.

Erection of illicit wireless station north of Pernambuco.

Complete disappearance of four ships leaving for South American ports, and never heard from again.

Duquesne himself was arrested in New York last May on a charge of fraud. It was learned at this time that he traveled under various aliases, notably Frederick Fredericks and Captain Claude Stoughton. When taken into custody he was posing as a Captain in the Australian Light Horse, with the ribbons of the South African, Matabele and Long Service medals. By simulating complete pa-

ralysis Duquesne got himself transferred to the prison hospital, whence he escaped with the aid of confederates, who took him in a waiting automobile to an airplane, in which he flew to Mexico. Secret Service agents followed him there, but at the middle of October he was still evading them.

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#### GERMAN DYNAMITER SENTENCED

**WERNER HORN**, the German reservist who on Feb. 2, 1915, attempted to dynamite the international bridge at St. Croix between the United States and Canada, was sentenced by a New Brunswick court on Oct. 31, 1919, to ten years in the penitentiary. Horn stated his intention to appeal to Germany, declaring that he could not be punished after the signing of peace.

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#### SENTENCE OF A FRENCH BOLSHEVIK

**CAPTAIN JACQUES SADOUL**, sent to Russia as a member of a French military mission, entered a year ago into close personal relations with Lenin and Trotzky, a fact which enabled him to take an effective part in the release of the French journalist, Ludovic Naudeau, from Moscow prisons, as recounted by M. Naudeau in the November CURRENT HISTORY. Sadoul's relations with the Bolsheviks, however, proved to be of a treasonable and even traitorous nature, according to charges filed against him by the French military authorities, and on Nov. 6 court-martial proceedings were begun against him at Paris on the ground that at the fall of Odessa he had deserted his own countrymen in support of the enemy; that he was with the Bolshevik forces which captured the city from the French and British troops; that he supplied information to the enemy, and later urged French prisoners to join the Bolsheviks.

Meanwhile Captain Sadoul's friends had submitted his name as a candidate for election to the Chamber of Deputies, though he was still in Russia, and an active campaign in his behalf was in full swing at the time of his court-martial. The President of the court refused to allow Mme. Sadoul to be represented at the trial. Albert Thomas, the

former Socialist Minister of Munitions, also was unsuccessful in the object of a petition which he filed in Sadoul's behalf. On Nov. 8 Captain Sadoul was condemned to death by unanimous vote of the court-martial. Though the sentence cannot be executed until the condemned officer is given up by Lenin and Trotzky, the episode is not without significance.

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#### D'ANNUNZIO'S ODDITIES

**G**ABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO, the Italian poet and dramatist, now the centre of the world's attention as the raider and military chief of the disputed port of Fiume, has for many years given abundant evidence of the eccentricities of his artistic temperament. Among these were innumerable "love" affairs, including the episode with Eleanora Duse. Nearly all his novels and plays were written at "La Capponcina," a remarkable pseudo-monastic abode, covered with Latin inscriptions, in which every article of furniture is alleged to be at least 400 years old. Photographs of d'Annunzio writing, according to his fixed custom, on an ancient church altar by the light of sixty candles, because he believed, with Balzac, that only by candle-light could he obtain inspiration, have been spread throughout the world. They recall the legend of Alfred de Musset writing feverishly all night in his apartment in Paris by the light of candles. D'Annunzio, like Mascagni, pays great attention to his dress, and just before the war a Neopolitan paper published an amusing inventory of his clothes.

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#### LABOR TROUBLES IN SWEDEN

**I**N the first week of October a lock-out was proclaimed in the wood-working trades of Sweden, including that of the furniture and piano makers; repeated conciliatory efforts had failed, and the fight was bitter. This strike was one of a long series which have afflicted Sweden and crippled her industries for a whole year. As early as last January there were strikes among the sailors and engine-drivers which assumed serious dimensions. A threatened

strike by the railway men, which aimed eventually at the State railways and food supply, was averted by the Government only by the granting of important concessions. There followed a long and demoralizing strike in the Swedish match industry and among the dockers at Gothenburg, the latter as the direct outcome of the decision taken at the International Stevedoring Congress in Holland that all goods which could in any way be classed as war material should be blockaded. Most serious of all was the printers' strike, which lasted for about two months. During this time all the papers, except the Bolshevik organ, Folkets Dagblad Politiken, appeared with considerably reduced issues, but the conflict ended with the victory of the owners. That this strike was managed and supported by Bolshevik money was stated from Stockholm to be beyond question.

The extra session of the Swedish Riksdag in October had before it the Eight-hour Working Day bill. This measure was defeated by a substantial majority in the First Chamber last Spring, after its acceptance by the Second Chamber, but the Premier's statement in the debate showed the Government's determination to carry it through. Industrial leaders almost without exception opposed the bill on the ground that it would mean nothing short of ruin to Swedish industry, which was already working under severe depression owing to strong competition from abroad.

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#### HELIGOLAND AND ENGLAND

**A**MESSAGE from Cuxhaven dated Oct. 1 stated that a strong agitation was proceeding in Heligoland for separation from Germany and union with Great Britain, and that a plebiscite on the question was planned. The people of the island, according to the Berliner Tageblatt, are anxious to come again under British rule. Before Great Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany it was one of the most peaceful spots in the world, a unique place to study the habits of rare sea birds, inhabited by a tiny community untroubled by the cost of living, inasmuch as it escaped the income tax

and was well supplied with German wine and cigars, imported for the Summer visitors who came for the bathing season. The change which dug huge fortifications a hundred feet deep in the cliffs, covered them with gun emplacements, and girdled them with a labyrinth of walls 50 feet thick, as a means of protecting the Elbe, and providing a base for attack on England, was considered by the inhabitants as a doubtful blessing and proved a severe strain on the island's zeal for the Fatherland. When the war broke out the Heligoland fishermen were all shipped off to the mainland, and the island was given over to the sea-gulls and the German gunners. Since the Berlin revolution the original inhabitants have returned, the island has again been thrown open, and a beginning has been made with the dismantling of the formidable fortifications as stipulated by the Versailles Treaty.

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#### NORWAY FOR PROHIBITION

**B**Y a popular referendum vote on Oct. 7, Norway adopted the prohibition of whisky, brandy, and other strong liquors. The vote stood 428,455 in favor of prohibition to 284,137 against it. Christiania was strongly against the proposal, and only 18,500 voted for it, as compared with 70,000 in opposition. The passing of the measure did not affect the consumption of wines and beers.

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#### AUSTRIA SELLS ART TREASURES

**I**T was decided by the Austrian Government on Oct. 1 to sell the vast and costly art treasures of the nation, in order to obtain money to feed the half-starved people. Valuable paintings, rare manuscripts, tapestries, porcelain, historical furniture from the Imperial palaces, Ministries and other State buildings, aggregating a total value of 1,000,000,000 crowns, (\$250,000,000 at the pre-war rate of exchange), as the result of this decision will be scattered throughout the world. Among the objects offered for sale are the famous Gobelin and Arras tapestries collected by the Hapsburgs during many decades. These number nearly 400 pieces, and their value

cannot be\* estimated. There are also costly gold and silver saltcellars, and dishes and flagons set with precious stones, the work of the most famous Florentine jewelers. Even after the alienation of all these objects, however, Vienna will still be rich in art treasures, as the Peace Treaty with Austria provides that the collections belonging to the Government of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire or to the crown of Austria-Hungary may not be sold or dispersed within a period of twenty years.

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#### END OF A ROBBER CHIEF

**T**OWARD the beginning of October it was announced from Teheran that the Persian Government, which had shown unusual activity in repressing disorders in the country, had at last hanged the famous robber chief Nayib Hussein, who was so old that he had become almost legendary in his own lifetime, as well as his son, Mashallah Khan, both of whom had long terrorized the district of Kashan. Nayib Hussein lived in a huge fortified castle on his "estate" near Kashan, where, supported by his sons, he levied blackmail in the bazaars of the town. Often he occupied the town itself, and he became so powerful that in 1912 the Government invited him to assume responsibility for the safety of the roads from Kashan to Kum and Yezd. His name was a household word in Persian homes, and was used as a bogey to frighten naughty children. On six previous occasions his violent end had been announced in the official Gazette of Teheran, but the old brigand had always survived to demonstrate that the news of his death had been "very much exaggerated."

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#### BOLSHEVISM IN THE FAR EAST

**T**HE Berlin correspondent of the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant pointed out at the end of September that propagandist traffic was being actively carried on by means of couriers between Moscow and India, and that prominent Indians and Persians, as well as Turks, were welcome guests in the Soviet Capital. The propagandists

traveled between the front of Kolchak and the Ural troops of General Dutov. Lenin himself has stated that his main objective is Asia, and that at one time he sent so many troops and such quantities of money to that theatre that the western front was weakened by it. A Russian, the Berlin correspondent said, conducted the propaganda campaign in India as a representative of Lenin, while a former Turkish officer had the management of affairs in Turkestan. Here he had initiated a great anti-British organization by means of unlimited Russian money, as well as arms and ammunition. These various organizations which, according to Lenin's own words, were directed against the integrity of India, were being extended and were gaining strength.

When the revolt against British rule in Afghanistan broke out, Lenin's couriers brought hope and encouragement to these new foes of Great Britain. After the revolt was ended, Lenin received the Afghans' Extraordinary Ambassador in Moscow with the greatest honors. The attitude and words of the envoy on this occasion were scarcely those of the representative of a beaten and humiliated nation, such as the British Afghan officials had depicted the Emir's people to be. A leading article of The London Times pointed out on Oct. 11 that the Government of India, after forty years, had given the Afghans control of their external relations.

The visit of the Afghan Embassy to Moscow had its picturesque and significant features. The Ambassador, Mahomed Vali Khan, according to the reports of eyewitnesses of the ceremony of greeting, was a stately figure, above the average height, and under forty years of age. Like all the rest of his embassy, he was dressed in European costume, with the exception of an astrakhan cap. The embassy arrived in Moscow on Oct. 10, and was met at the station by a large delegation. A guard of honor had been provided, accompanied by a band and banners. "Comrade" Narimanov, Director of the Musulman Near East Department, delivered the following greeting:

Welcome! In the name of the Soviet

Authority and the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, I greet, in the person of your Excellency, Afghanistan, and its first embassy to the capital of the Russian Workers and Peasants' Government. This historic fact proves that Russian imperialism, striving to enslave and degrade small nationalities, has gone, never to return. In the name of my Government, I purposely greet you in the Turkish language in the Red Russian capital, in order to prove that the Workers and Peasants' Government treats all peoples and languages with sincere respect. Such a Government knows how to value sincere friendship. I welcome you.

Comrade Sultan Galiev, welcoming the Ambassador in the name of the Revolutionary Council of the republic, said:

Your small but heroic country is fighting for its emancipation from the age-long oppressors of the East, British imperialism. We know that you need help and support, and that you expect this support from Soviet Russia. In the name of the Revolutionary Council, and in the name of the revolutionary organizations of the many million laboring Mohammedan masses of Soviet Russia, I declare to you that Soviet Russia will give you that assistance, as she herself is fighting against international imperialism and for the rights of the oppressed nations of the whole world.

In reply to the greeting of Comrade Sultan Galiev, the Ambassador said:

We know that the Musulman peoples of Russia are now free, and we strongly hope that, with the assistance of Soviet Russia, we shall succeed in emancipating our Afghanistan and the rest of the East.

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#### OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

THE great pause in the life of the universities on the banks of the Isis and the Cam caused by the war has come to an end. Oxford and Cambridge have been unlike themselves, unlike any portion of their history, except perhaps the civil war period, when pikemen thronged the streets and "quads," as the men in khaki of the modern armies have thronged them during the past five years. The writer of these lines visited both universities in 1914, some months after the war had broken out; the "yard" was filled with the tents of wounded British soldiers, and uniformed guards were everywhere. Today Oxford and Cambridge are returning to their traditional pursuits; freshmen are pouring into the

classrooms, and the Don is assuming once more the importance of which he had been temporarily deprived. The number of undergraduates in the Fall of 1919 was wholly unprecedented, and both of the great British universities have some difficulty in finding accommodation for them all. So the new era of peace and the life intellectual has been inaugurated within the old stone walls of Oxford and Cambridge, and the world of books has again come into its own.

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#### STRASBOURG UNIVERSITY

**I**N Alsace-Lorraine the life of Strasbourg University has begun anew under French direction, but there are still German disharmonies to mar the even tenor of student life. Evidence of such disharmony is contained in an open letter which the students addressed to M. Millerand, High Commissioner of the French Government in Alsace, in which they strongly protest against the excessive number of Germans who still frequent the classes at the university. This letter reads as follows:

After the evacuation of the territory by German troops there was a conviction, both in Alsace and in Lorraine, that the Germans would deem it more suitable not to remain in the territory which had been restored to France once again, and that the great majority would ask to return to the country of their origin.

To the general surprise, not only do a considerable number of Germans manifest a tendency to attach themselves permanently to the country, but many of those whose presence was merely tolerated show themselves unworthy of the kindness of the French Government by openly expressing sentiments contrary to the interests of France.

There are even some who, by a stealthy and clever propaganda, are tending to sow discontent between Alsatians and the people of Lorraine. In a word, there are very few Germans who observe a correct attitude; most of them take advantage of the mildness of the Government to affect public opinion for their own advantage. Actuated by these motives, the club of the students of Strasbourg, deeply solicitous for the future of the country, expresses the wish that the general commissary should not allow himself to be influenced by demands often prompted by purely personal considerations, but should take against the Germans residing in Strasbourg the rigorous measures which public opinion unanimously expects of him,

viz., that the great majority of German citizens, if not all of them, should be invited to quit the reintegrated territory, and that those whose presence is tolerated should be subjected to the strictest observation.

The French Government is doing all in its power to make the great Alsatian University worthy of the best French standards. The most renowned French professors are being sought for the institution, and the substitution of French for German in the examinations has already been begun with considerable success. The German-speaking but French-sympathizing Alsatian students are working hard to master the difficulties of the new academic tongue, which they take pride in using. French professors, it is said, will have no great difficulty in the work of reassimilation, for Teutonic "kultur" never succeeded in taking deep root in Alsace, especially in the old University of Strasbourg, where French sympathies for many decades have been openly expressed.

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#### THE FRENCH PEACE ARMY

**A** REPORT of the French Sub-Committee on Armaments, submitted to the Senate Commission on Military Affairs and dealing with the reorganization of the French Army in time of peace, contained the following program:

An annual conscription of 200,000 instead of 600,000 men, as previously.

Enlistments and re-enlistments, 150,000.

Divisions retained in twenty districts.

Headquarters of the 21st Division to be moved from Epinal to Strasbourg.

North Africa, two army corps; an additional corps of colonial troops.

Home army to have one active corps, instead of two, with a reserve division.

Army corps on eastern frontier to have two active divisions, one at more than full strength, to be stationed on the Rhine. The North African army corps and the colonial corps each to send a division to the Rhine, thus giving six infantry divisions for the French Army of Occupation on the Rhine.

Cavalry to be reduced to four divisions; one division to be sent to the Rhine.

The fulfillment of the program, to sum up, involves a peace footing of 350,000 men and a war footing of 1,350,000. The Rhine front is to be heavily guarded. A further reserve of 2,000,000 men, based on the fifteen classes of the territorial

and reserve forces, is kept for emergencies.

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#### CANADA'S WAR MEMORIALS

**T**HE Canadian Government, was the first to submit detailed plans to the Battle Exploits Memorials Committee for sites for battlefield memorials. The sites proposed by Canada, and fully approved by the Memorials Committee, whose duty it is to pass upon all memorial proposals, so as to avoid clashing with other units and to investigate the validity of the claim, were as follows:

1. St. Julien.
2. Courcellette.
3. Observatory Ridge (Sanctuary Wood).
4. Vimy. (Hill 145.)
5. Passchendaele.
6. Caix. (Between Caix and Le Quesnel.)
7. Dury. (Drocourt-Queant Line.)
8. Bourion Wood.

Plans to obtain title and permission to build are being obtained from the respective Governments concerned. A preliminary estimate of \$500,000 was authorized in the Canadian Parliament in October for the erection of the proposed memorials. The French and Belgian Governments were co-operating heartily with the Canadian representative, Colonel Hughes, in all steps taken.

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#### STRAINED RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

**A**SITUATION fraught with serious possibilities in the relations between the United States and Mexico arose during November, owing to the abduction by bandits in the City of Puebla, Mexico, of William O. Jenkins, a prominent cotton manufacturer in that city, who for years had been acting as United States Consular Agent there. The seizure of Mr. Jenkins was accomplished on Oct. 19, 1919. He was overpowered at his home by five masked men, his safe was forced open and \$30,000 taken from it, and he was forced to accompany the bandits to their headquarters, where he was held for ransom, \$150,000 being the sum named.

The State Department at Washington on Oct. 25 instructed the American Embassy in Mexico City to demand the release of Mr. Jenkins. The release was

accomplished on Oct. 26 by the payment of \$25,000 in cash and the balance in notes by friends of the kidnapped man. A few days later Señor Mestre, Mr. Jenkins's attorney, and two weeks thereafter Mr. Jenkins himself were arrested by the Mexican authorities on the charge that they had connived to bring about the kidnapping in order to place the Carranza Government in disrepute. The American authorities had previously investigated this report through the embassy at Mexico City and had satisfied themselves that it was cruelly unjust and utterly groundless; the Mexican Judge, Franko, who investigated the abduction originally, took occasion to refute the charge and praised Mr. Jenkins as a friend of the Mexican people.

Mr. Jenkins in a letter to Congressman Davis of Tennessee, who represents the district where he was born, stated that the bandits told him their principal object was to show the helplessness of the Carranza Government and force that Government to pay the large ransom. He further stated that while he was held by the bandits, he suffered greatly from exposure and became very ill, and that after his release he was subjected to humiliations and serious annoyances by the Carranza authorities, until at length he was again arrested on the trumped-up charge of having connived at his own abdication.

Secretary of State Lansing on Nov. 20 sent a note to the Carranza Government demanding Mr. Jenkins's immediate release. The official announcement regarding the action was as follows:

The note, which is based on the rearrest of Consular Agent Jenkins at Puebla, points out that the United States Government is "surprised and incensed" to learn of the reimprisonment of Mr. Jenkins, particularly in view of the suffering and losses already sustained by him in connection with his kidnapping through lack of protection by the Mexican authorities and in connection with his first arrest by Mexican officials.

The note expresses the view, based on the information in the possession of the Department of State, that his rearrest is absolutely arbitrary and unwarranted and warns the Mexican Government that further molestation of the Consular Agent will seriously affect the relations between the United States and Mexico, for which

the Government of Mexico must assume sole responsibility.

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#### "PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON

**W**HILM E. JOHNSON, an American who is conducting a prohibitionist propaganda in Great Britain, was attacked by a group of students at London Nov. 13, while speaking at Essex Hall, near King's College, in the Strand. The students seized the speaker, placed him on a stretcher, and carried him through the streets of London. They disclaimed any attempt to injure him, but some one in the crowd threw a missile that struck him in the face, destroying the sight of one eye. Mr. Johnson, universally dubbed "Pussyfoot" by the British press, had become one of the most-talked-of men in the United Kingdom, and though his campaign was unpopular, his injury was commented upon everywhere with regret.

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#### BRITISH FINANCES

**T**HE British Budget, laid before the House of Commons on Aug. 27, indicated a deficit of over \$2,300,000,000. The estimated expenditure is in round numbers \$8,000,000,000; the estimated revenue \$5,800,000,000. The increase in expenditure was due to war pensions and bonuses, police grants, increased pay for army, navy, and air forces, loans to allies, and the railway strike. The army increase is over \$500,000,000; navy, \$50,000,000. The national debt is estimated at \$40,000,000,000. The cost of the army during the ensuing year was estimated at \$2,000,000,000; that of the navy, \$800,000,000; that of the air forces, \$280,000,000.

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#### ARMISTICE DAY

**T**HE first anniversary of the signing of the armistice was celebrated on Nov. 11 throughout America, Great Britain, France, and other allied countries. In Great Britain all business ceased precisely at 11 A. M. for two minutes in memory of the dead. The most impressive scenes were witnessed everywhere as the solemn moment was observed. Civic employes stood still at their posts. Judges in their courtrooms,

Cabinet members in their offices, or wherever they happened to be, ceased their duties and stood at attention when the clock struck and the rockets burst that signaled the hour. Every man bared his head, and in many instances men and women stood sobbing in the streets.

In France high mass was celebrated and in some cities there were public demonstrations.

The dominating note at American celebrations was a memorial tribute to the dead; the observance was general, and a note of solemnity pervaded. President Wilson issued a formal message in commemoration of the day, in which he said:

The war showed us the strength of great nations acting together for high purposes, and the victory of arms foretells the enduring conquests which can be made in peace when nations act justly and in furtherance of the common interests of men. To us in America the reflections of Armistice Day will be filled with solemn pride in the heroism of those who died in the country's service, and with gratitude for the victory, both because of the thing from which it has freed us and because of the opportunity it has given America to show her sympathy with peace and justice in the councils of nations.

General Pershing paid tribute to the American Expeditionary Forces in his statement, saying:

Our armies have been demobilized and our citizen-soldiers have returned again to civil pursuits, with assurance of their ability to achieve therein the success they attained as soldiers, thus bringing a new asset to the nation. With broadened visions they return, not only with pride in the high standards of American manhood but with a new conception of its relations to the duties of citizenship.

As we pay tribute to our fighting men, we remember that solidly behind them stood the American people, with all our resources and our determination. This common service has welded together our people. These experiences safeguard the future of America and enable us to look forward confidently to the development of a stronger nationality and a deeper sense of the obligations that rest upon us. The exercise by the American people of practical patriotism during the war was an avowal of our firm adherence to the principles of free government that will continue to have great influence upon the progressive thought throughout the world. These are things which make this day significant.

## MR. GLASS A SENATOR

**C**ARTER T. GLASS, Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed Nov. 15 to the United States Senate to succeed the late Thomas S. Martin. His term does not expire until 1925. Mr. Glass became the Secretary of the Treasury after the resignation of William G. McAdoo. It was reported Nov. 24 that the President would appoint Russell Cornell Leffingwell, a New York attorney, who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to the Secretaryship. Mr. Leffingwell is a member of the law firm of Cravath & Henderson of New York City.

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## GERMANS IN MEXICO

**M**EXICO, in order to encourage German colonization, has given concessions of over 3,400,000 acres of land, which were sold to German capitalists, and it is stated that Mexican authorities expect to bring Germans into Mexico at the rate of 45,000 a year.

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## THE KAISER'S PRIVATE YACHT

**T**HE Meteor, formerly the private steam yacht of the German Kaiser, recently arrived at Buenos Aires on a regular trip under the Royal Steamship Company, to which it was assigned after the British Government had taken it over after the armistice. On this trip the ship carried 170 passengers. The Kaiser's yacht is now regularly in the passenger and cargo service.

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## BERGER EXCLUDED FROM CONGRESS

**T**HE House of Representatives by a vote of 309 voted to exclude Victor L. Berger, Socialist, elected to Congress from the Fifth Wisconsin District, from his seat in the House. Berger had been convicted of violation of the Espionage act. Shortly after his expulsion he was renominated for Congress by the Socialists at Milwaukee.

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## AMERICANS WHO DIED IN RUSSIA

**T**HE armored transport Lake Daraga arrived Nov. 12 from Archangel, by way of Brest, with the bodies of 103 soldiers who had died in Russia. Patriotic services, held the following day, were attended by members of the American

Legion and a special committee of Senators and Congressmen.

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## ST. MARK'S BRONZE HORSES RESTORED

**T**HE famous Quadriga, the group of four bronze horses of St. Mark's, were replaced over the principal portal of the Basilica at Venice on Nov. 11 after having been hidden in a safe place during the years of war. This stately, ancient bronze was brought to Venice in the year 1204 by Doge Enrico Dandolo, and was removed early in 1915 in the fear that it would be damaged by the Austrian bombardment. This was the second time the horses had been removed from Venice, Napoleon having taken them to Paris to decorate the Triumphal Arch in the Place du Carrousel. They were returned to Venice in 1815.

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## BELGIAN AND FRENCH GRANTS IN AFRICA

**B**Y an Anglo-Belgian agreement, referred to in the Belgian Senate on Aug. 26, the districts of Ruanda and Urundi, in German East Africa, were ceded to Belgium by Great Britain. The whole of German East Africa was assigned to the latter country by the Peace Conference as a mandate of the League of Nations. Ruanda and Urundi constitute the most fertile district of the colony, and have a population of over 3,000,000 natives. The cession was made by Great Britain as a mark of British gratitude to her Belgian ally.

By a Franco-British agreement about four-fifths of Cameroun and two-thirds of Togo are to be ceded to France. German statistics give Cameroun an area of 540,000 square kilometers and a native population of 2,750,000 inhabitants. The population in French Cameroun has been estimated at about 1,500,000. The port of Douala will be the principal port of the whole territory when united. Togo, according to German statistics, possesses 87,000 square kilometers and a native population of 1,032,000 inhabitants. In 1912 its commerce totaled 26,731,000 francs. The British cession will include the port of Lome, which will be the principal issue of Dahomey, and two railways which are susceptible of extension to regions of French Sudan.

# The Month in the United States

## With Demobilization Practically Completed the Nation Grapples With Peace-time Problems

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 20, 1919]

**F**EW American troops remained abroad on Nov. 1, and most of these were getting ready to return. During the first twenty-seven days of October 16,047 army personnel sailed from Europe. Since the armistice a total of 3,421,916 men had been discharged from the army, more than a million of whom were in this country and never had an opportunity to go to France.

The estimated strength of the army on Nov. 3 was 270,200, not including nurses and field clerks. The distribution included 18,455 in Europe, 7,783 en route to or from Europe, and 209,884 in the United States. The total "enlisted" strength was 247,543, which was 30,000, or 12 per cent., below the number permitted under existing appropriations. There are still 13,580 emergency officers in the army.

Comparative figures prepared by the General Staff and published on Nov. 17 showed that the rate of demobilization of the army since the armistice exceeded the rate for the same period following the civil war and the war with Spain. Demobilization for the year reached 96 per cent., as compared with 94.4 the first year following the civil war. Demobilization following the war with Spain terminated with the tenth month, when a percentage of 83 was reached, the Philippine insurrection preventing the disbandment of some volunteer organizations until the succeeding year.

As compared with the civil war, demobilization during 1919 was less rapid for the first six months, and more rapid for the second six months. The emergency forces at their greatest strength, regulars not included, in each of these three wars, were:

Civil War—April 30, 1865, 1,034,064.  
Spanish War—Aug. 31, 1898, 216,256.  
World War—Nov. 11, 1918, 3,560,000.

The mustering out of troops after the civil war was virtually completed by the Summer of 1866, although a few volunteers were retained in service after Nov. 1, 1866. The last volunteer organization was disbanded Dec. 20, 1867, or two and one-half years after hostilities had ceased.

On Armistice Day, Nov. 11, the publication at Washington of a revised list of American war casualties showed a total of 293,089. The list included 34,625 killed in action, including 382 lost at sea; died of wounds, 13,955; died of disease, 23,392; died of accident and other causes, 5,326; wounded in action, 215,489; missing in action, 2.

Thirty-three graduates of West Point were killed in action or died of wounds received in action during the world war, according to information from the official records of the War Department. These officers belonged to fifteen graduating classes. The classes of 1917 and 1918 sustained the heaviest losses, six officers of the class of 1917 having lost their lives and ten of the class of 1918, which was graduated on Aug. 30, 1917.

No West Pointer of higher rank than Colonel lost his life in the war, but the majority of those from West Point killed in action were of grades ranging from Captain up to Colonel, only eight being of as low rank as Lieutenants. One of the officers, Second Lieutenant Albert F. Ward, was killed in action at Vladivostok, and the other thirty-two were killed in France.

### DEATHS AT FLYING FIELDS

It was stated by the General Staff on Oct. 28 that since June 1, 1918, the Air Service had had 390 fatalities at flying fields in the United States, of which 14, or 4 per cent., were attributed to the failure of engines or the collapse of air-

planes. The causes of 9 per cent. of all fatalities are declared to be unknown. The causes, numbers of fatalities, and percentage which each class of fatality bears to the total were made public, as follows:

	Number.	P.C.
Tail spin .....	118	30
Collision .....	61	16
Nose dive .....	47	12
Unknown .....	36	9
Side slip .....	21	5
Stall .....	19	5
Fire .....	15	4
Failure of machine.....	14	4
Struck by propeller.....	13	3
Others .....	46	12
Total .....	390	

### 300,000 FOR PEACE ARMY

The House Military Affairs Committee, it was announced Nov. 15 by Representative Julius Kahn, Chairman of the committee, had reached an agreement for a peace army of 300,000 officers and men.

The unanimous opinion of the committee is that the regular army should be recruited by voluntary enlistments, and that promotions should be from a single list, as recommended by General Pershing. The Tank and Chemical Warfare Service, Mr. Kahn said, would be continued, although many other divisions and bureaus created during the war probably would be discontinued.

Mr. Kahn's statement read to the committee was, in part, as follows:

It is believed by the members of the committee that in the legislation that we ultimately will report to the House such branches of the army as a tank section and a chemical warfare section will have to be provided. These are two of the entirely new developments of modern warfare. A number of new divisions and bureaus of the supply departments also were created during the war. Among these were the finance division, the transportation corps, and the storage and traffic division, while the air service was divorced from the signal corps and functioned as a separate organization.

The committee has reached virtually a unanimous conclusion as to the size of the regular army at this time. We feel that the legislation ought to contemplate a regular force of 250,000 combat troops. With the necessary auxiliary forces in the supply and staff corps it probably will bring the total number of officers and men to about 300,000. Enlisted men

in the regular army we feel should be recruited by voluntary enlistments.

### PERSHING'S MILITARY POLICY

General Pershing on Oct. 31 appeared before the House and Senate Committees on Military Affairs and gave his views as to the reorganization of the army. He insisted that the standing army, officers and men, should not total more than 275,000 or 300,000, as against 575,000, recommended by the General Staff. In agreement with the General Staff he recommended universal military training for youths of 19 for six months. He favored this, even though there were never another war, for its physical and educational features and the preliminary and necessary training it gave in citizenship. The youths so trained would not be subject to draft in peace times, as the standing army would be maintained by volunteers. General Pershing said:

In considering the total strength of the army all of us should take into consideration the cost. We cannot afford to adopt the principle of a large standing army at the enormous expense indicated in this bill.

Our success in the war was not due to our forethought in preparedness, but to exceptional circumstances, which made it possible to prepare after we had declared war. It is my belief that had America been adequately prepared our rights would never have been violated, our institutions would never have been threatened. As a military policy we should have:

(A)—A permanent military establishment large enough to provide against sudden attack.

(B)—A small force sufficient for expeditionary purposes to meet our international obligations, particularly on the American Continent.

(C)—Such force as may be necessary to meet our internal requirements.

(D)—A trained citizen reserve organized to meet the emergency of war.

In addition to preparing our young manhood to defend their country, universal military training brings many benefits which our Government should hasten to provide. It develops physical vigor and manliness. It develops mentality. It would decrease illiteracy. It teaches men discipline and respect for constituted authority. It encourages initiative and gives young men confidence in themselves. It better prepares young men for the duties of citizenship.

Such training is especially needed among our alien population, who would learn something of our language and our in-

stitutions. All these benefits have been bestowed upon the men who composed our forces during the war, and the benefits of such training should be universally extended to all our young men. Through service it increases their patriotism. It broadens their views through associating with men of all classes. It is democratic.

#### RESIGNATION OF OFFICERS

Up to Nov. 8 more than one-fourth of all the officers of the combatant army, who were in the regular army, had resigned, and other resignations were awaiting the action of the President and the Secretary of War. The total number accepted up to noon of that day was 1,999, which meant that 32 per cent. of all the officers in the Coast Artillery Corps, 30 per cent. of the officers of the field artillery, 24 per cent. of the cavalry officers, 28 per cent. of the infantry officers, and 16 per cent. of the official personnel of the Corps of Engineers had left the service.

More officers have resigned since the armistice than resigned during the entire history of the regular army prior to November, 1918. They are the younger officers, the Lieutenants and Captains, the ones who can least be spared. Virtually none of the field officers, whose salaries make it possible for them to make both ends meet during this present period of high cost of living, are resigning. A memorandum issued by the Morale Division of the General Staff says:

The army is in a very serious condition. The extraordinarily high cost of the necessities of life has so reduced the standard of living to which officers have heretofore been accustomed that there has resulted a profound state of discontent and low morale in the service. \* \* \* Those who resign are men of high initiative, force, energy, and self-reliance, military qualities which the army can ill-afford to lose.

The officers of the army are now being paid on the salary scale passed by Congress in 1908, since which time no increases have been granted. In numerous instances the situation in which the younger married officers find themselves, as a result of their inadequate incomes, borders on the pathetic. It is of record that in scores of cases they have had to cancel their life insurance,

to sell their Liberty bonds, while their wives and daughters attend to all domestic work.

The answer to the problem now facing the country, on the solution of which depends the future of the military establishment, is in the hands of Congress, which now has before it a bill to increase the salary of officers of the army, navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Public Health Service 30 per cent., and the pay of all enlisted men 50 per cent.

#### GENERAL OFFICERS NAMED

Secretary Baker on Oct. 31 announced the names of 101 general officers to be retained in the army under the provisions of the bill, which allows a total of 18,000 officers during the current year. The list includes the names of two Generals, two Lieutenant Generals, fifty-five Major Generals, and forty-two Brigadier Generals. Some of these are holding their permanent ranks, while others are holding temporary ranks as general officers higher than their permanent ranks.

The Generals ordered to be retained, all of whom will remain in their duties until further orders, are:

GENERALS—John J. Pershing and Peyton C. March.

LIEUTENANT GENERALS — Hunter Liggett and Robert L. Bullard.

MAJOR GENERALS—Leonard Wood, John L. Morrison, Charles G. Morton, Joseph T. Dickman, Charles E. W. Kennedy, Francis J. Kernan, Frank McIntyre, George W. Burr, William G. Haan, Henry Jersey, James W. McAndrew, Charles H. Muir, Peter C. Harris, John L. Chamberlain, Enoch H. Crowder, Harry L. Rogers, M. Perritt, W. Ireland, William M. Black, Clarence C. Williams, George O. Squier, Jesse McCarter, Frank W. Coe, William J. Spow, Charles T. Menoher, William L. Sibert, Charles P. Summerall, James G. Harbord, William M. Wright, John L. Hines, Henry T. Allen, William S. Graves, Grote Hutcheson, James H. McRae, Samuel D. Sturgis, William S. McNair, Clarence H. Edwards, George Bell, Jr., Joseph E. Kuhn, David C. Shanks, Edwin F. Glenn, John Biddle, Omar Bundy, Harry C. Hale, George W. Read, Edward F. McGlachlin, Jr., Henry C. Sharpe, Charles J. Bailey, Charles S. Farnsworth, Ernest Hines, Clement A. F. Flagler, Edward M. Lewis, William H. Hay, Robert L. Howze, and A. W. Brewster.

**BRIGADIER GENERALS**—Marlborough Churchill, Herbert M. Lord, Charles R. Krauthoff, Walter D. McCaw, Robert E. Noble, Samuel D. Rockenbach, Frank T. Hines, Richard C. Marshall, Jr., Charles B. Drake, William Mitchell, Edward A. Kreger, Francis H. French, Henry C. Hodges, William H. Sage, Richard M. Blatchford, William S. Scott, D. A. Poore, Arthur Johnson, Wilds P. Richardson, Francis C. Marshall, Harry H. Bandholtz, Frank H. McCoy, Charles G. Treat, Edwin B. Babbitt, George G. Gately, George V. S. Moseley, Fox Conner, W. W. Harts, William J. N. Holson, Harry F. Hodges, John W. Ruckman, John D. Barrett, Johnson Hagood, Richmond P. Davis, Andrew Moses, Andrew Hero, Jr., William C. Davis, Adelbert Cronkhite, Douglas MacArthur, William D. Connor, W. A. Bethel, and Robert C. Davis.

#### ARMY SALES EXCEED BILLION

On Nov. 18 it was stated by the War Department that the sales of surplus army property in the United States and Europe reported to Nov. 8 amounted to \$1,152,328,305. Sales in the United States alone amounted to \$602,000,000, which was 9½ per cent. greater than the total sales in Europe. The total for the United States covered sales of real estate and improvements and included \$123,245,240 in sales made prior to the establishment of the office of the Director of Sales. The value of sales of army property in this country and Europe was given as follows:

United States, \$602,000,000; France, \$400,000,000; Poland, \$48,459,152; Belgium; \$28,605,661; Siberia, \$18,716,009; Czechoslovakia, \$14,958,937; Rumania, \$12,879,313; Estonia, \$10,820,117; Ukraine, \$8,557,771; Lithuania, \$4,414,861; Latvia, \$2,588,813; Provincial Governments of Russia, \$378,171. Total, \$1,152,328,305.

To Nov. 5 the Liquidation Commission had made credit sales of surplus property in France and the liberated countries aggregating \$550,328,305. Corrected reports received by the department reduced the value of the liquidated contracts.

The value of 22,596 contracts, reported liquidated to Nov. 1, was \$2,091,436,000, as compared with \$2,128,795,000 reported last week. This was a reduction of \$37,000,000 due to corrected reports.

#### THE AMERICAN LEGION

The first convention of the American Legion, a national organization of ex-soldiers of the world war, was held in Minneapolis in the second week of November. It adjourned on Nov. 12 after selecting Franklin D'Olier of Philadelphia as First National Commander. Resolutions passed as the convention closed included condemnation of strikes of policemen, firemen, or other public employes, and a call for settlement of industrial disputes.

The convention for a time seemed split on the proposal to indorse a specific bonus plan. Representative Royal O. Johnson of Aberdeen, S. D., who served in France, urged the delegates to ask Congress to recognize and relieve the financial disadvantages incurred by persons who made sacrifices to serve their country. Former Senator Luke Lea of Tennessee, Chairman of the Bonus Committee, formally put this resolution before the convention and it was adopted.

A broad variety of subjects, including the Centralia tragedy, industrial unrest, and the National Non-Partisan League, were touched on. Delegates from Northwestern States drew up a resolution assailing the activities of President A. C. Townley of the Non-Partisan League, but it was tabled.

Commander D'Olier issued the following statement soon after his election:

The American Legion has an enormous amount of constructive work before it in the coming year, but the spirit of clear thinking, fair play, and co-operation manifested so wonderfully throughout this convention leaves no doubt in my mind that we shall be able to accomplish during the coming year just as remarkable results for our country as we did in such a comparatively short time in effecting the utter defeat of the enemy.

Every action of the convention was discussed carefully, and in every instance the soundest possible judgment prevailed. There was only one thought of every delegate present, and that was to do what was best for this country of ours, for which only so recently we were willing to give our all.

Declarations placing the legion on record against anti-American propaganda and activities were adopted, and resolutions passed, including:

Demand for the deportation of alien slackers and enemy aliens interned during the war, with selective admission of foreigners.

Authorizing the appointment of a legion committee to spread the teaching of the legion doctrine of "100 per cent. Americanism" among veterans of the war and aliens in this country.

Demanding a "change in the Department of Justice from a passive organization to a militant, active branch, whose findings will be promptly acted upon by the executive authority."

Opposition to organization of societies for relief of civilian populations of Germany, Austria and Hungary unless these societies be authorized by Congress.

#### NAVAL MINE SWEEPERS

On Oct. 12 it was announced at Plymouth, England, that the units of the American Navy then in British waters were assembling at that port for their journey across the Atlantic, and on Nov. 24 this whole fleet was receiving honors in New York Harbor. These vessels had just completed the gigantic task of sweeping up 21,000 of their mines, which formed a part of the North Sea barrage from the Orkneys to Norway. The barrier was 230 miles long, with an average width of 25 miles, and consisted of 70,000 mines.

The sweeping up of this huge mine field began on May 10 last, and American officers say they completed in one season's work that which it was confidently expected would take two years.

They employed eighty vessels, including thirty-six sweepers, and only four out of the thirty-six sweepers escaped damage through mines exploding near.

One ship sank and Commander King and six men were lost. The commander's devotion to duty was such that the American Navy promptly named a new destroyer after him.

#### INCREASES IN NAVY PAY

Urging immediate pay increases as necessary to retain present navy officers and men and obtain new ones, Secretary Daniels on Nov. 12 recommended to the House Navy Committee temporary increases aggregating \$53,000,000 a year for all officers and men. The proposed new schedule would remain in effect until June 30, 1921.

Mr. Daniels also told the committee

that funds allowed naval officers for public and official receptions should be increased.

The following annual increases, with similar advances in the pay of officers of corresponding rank in the Marine Corps, were recommended by Mr. Daniels:

Admirals, Rear Admirals, Vice Admirals, and Captains, \$1,000; Commanders, \$900; Lieutenant Commanders, \$840; Lieutenants, senior grade, \$720; Lieutenants, junior grade, \$600, and Ensigns and warrant officers, \$480. Monthly pay of chief petty officers would be limited to \$126, and that of other enlisted men to \$40 instead of \$32.60.

#### ARMY TRANSPORT SERVICE

Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, Director of Transportation, declared on Nov. 15 that since the armistice was signed the Army Transportation Service has redelivered to the Shipping Board and to private owners nearly 600 passenger and cargo ships aggregating about 4,000,000 deadweight tons. General Hines said:

The first anniversary of Armistice Day found the National Army returned from oversea and a division of the regular army on watch on the Rhine with scattering caretakers here and there in France, guarding American supplies and equipment yet to be returned to the United States. The Army Transport forces have been withdrawn from Marseilles, Bordeaux, St. Nazaire, La Pallice, and Le Havre. Soon the famous port of Brest will be closed, as Antwerp has been established as the port or base of operations for supplying the Rhine Valley Army during the reconstruction period. The return movement of troops and cargo was no sooner well under way than the transportation service of the War Department, heeding the call of Mr. Hurley and the American merchant marine, began redelivering cargo troop transports to the Shipping Board and American steamship lines.

The prompt redelivery of these steamships has proved a most potent economic transaction for the Government in reducing the enormous cost of war operations as well as a most timely stimulus to the American merchant marine in lifting the enormous congestion of export cargo that had accumulated at American seaports for shipment to all parts of the world. The war tonnage that has been redelivered by the Transportation Service reached a total of 590 ships of 3,911,000 tons deadweight, not including twenty-

four battleships of 352,395 displacement tons that were pressed into service as troop carriers, and two troop ships and thirty-one cargo ships which were sunk. \* \* \*

Today, with the emergency functions of the Oversea Transportation Service practically completed, an excellent perspective of these titanic accomplishments may be had. Briefly stated, it picked up 2,100,000 soldiers from the interior of the United States and set them down in every part of Europe and even in Siberia and brought them home. It carried overseas 8,000,000 tons of supplies and distributed same to wherever required for their sustenance. It transported their equipment, armament, ammunition, and all the varied paraphernalia necessary to successfully conduct modern, scientific warfare. Before the ink was dry on the signatures of the German envoys it had started to reverse the operation. It brought the soldier back and deposited him at his own fireside, so that he might renew his normal existence in the industrial life of the nation with the least possible interruption. It gathered up 700,000 tons of army stores from various corners of Europe and returned same to the United States. It turned the chartered tonnage back to the merchant marine with all practicable speed.

It was stated in Washington, Nov. 1, that with the completion of the present construction program of the Shipping Board there would be under the American flag 1,731 oil-burning steamers of an aggregate of nearly 10,000,000 dead-weight tons. Fuel stations are now being established along the trade routes in the Atlantic and Pacific so that the American ships will be able to make a complete circuit of the world without taking fuel at other than American-owned stations.

A total of 486 oil-burning ships is now in the Government merchant fleet, while sixty-seven others have been sold to Americans or reconveyed to their American owners. In addition 636 oil-burning vessels are under construction.

#### BILL TO RETURN RAILROADS

By a vote of 203 to 159 the House on Nov. 17 passed finally the Esch bill to regulate the railroads after their release by the Government. This action was taken after Representative Claude Kitchin, former Democratic floor leader, had denounced the provision the railway unions demanded for the adjustment of

wage disputes, and after Representative Mondell, Republican leader, had characterized the measure as a whole as "strong, sane, and sensible."

Representative Kitchin's denunciation of the so-called Anderson amendment, dealing with the adjustment of labor disputes, was made in a five-minute speech before the bill was reported from committee. This section continues in effect the present machinery of the railroads and presents no way to force a dispute before the adjustment boards unless action is initiated by the railway unions. There is nothing in the amendment which attempts to prevent strikes or gives authority to the board to enforce its decision.

Representative Mondell said that at no time in twenty years had the House so faithfully considered an important measure as in this instance. "While I am not in favor of some parts of the bill," he said, "yet I believe that it, as a whole, is strong, sane, and sensible, and represents the view of the majority.

The House, when the bill was reported from committee, where earlier important sections enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission had been adopted, declined, by a vote of 200 to 165, to recommit it, and rejected a motion to strike out the Anderson amendment by a vote of 253 to 112. The latter vote represented a stronger sentiment for the labor adjustment section than when it was adopted originally by the committee.

The bill passed finally also enlarges the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The commission is empowered to pass upon the issue of stocks and bonds by railroads and to decide in certain emergencies when joint terminal and other facilities shall be used by the carriers.

#### INCREASING RAILWAY WAGES

Director General Hines on Nov. 15 submitted to representatives of the four railway brotherhoods an increased wage scale amounting approximately to \$3,000,000 a month, or \$36,000,000 a year. The increase would affect trainmen, firemen, engineers, and conductors,

but more particularly those employed in the slow freight train service. In making the awards the Railroad Administration set forth these facts:

The Railroad Administration in discharging its responsibility to make readjustments necessary to avoid unjust inequalities in the compensation of different classes of railroad employees has proposed to the four brotherhoods representing the train and enginemen that, in order to give an additional measure of compensation to the train service employees in the slow freight service, time and one-half will be paid for time required to make runs in excess of what would be required if an average speed of 12½ miles per hour were maintained, provided, however, that all arbitraries and special allowances now paid in various forms of freight train service are entirely eliminated for the railroads as a whole.

In discharging the responsibility which unavoidably rested upon the Railroad Administration consideration has been given to the claim that various classes of train and engine employees are relatively underpaid. In considering these claims the conclusion has been reached that the train service employees in freight train service, who are habitually averaging less than twelve and a half miles per hour, do not get an opportunity to earn a reasonable monthly wage, as compared with employees in fast freight service or employees in passenger train service, without working abnormally long hours, frequently amounting to from 275 to 300 hours or more per month, and the above method has been decided to be the best

way in which to make a fair equalization of this condition.

Compromise terms with the Track Workers' Brotherhood were accepted on Nov. 24, and representatives of the other unions were in session, with every prospect of an early adjustment of remaining differences.

#### FOOD CONTROL REVIVED

President Wilson in a proclamation of Nov. 21 placed the Government again in control of the nation's food supply by transferring the authority of the Food Administration to Attorney General Palmer. The revival of the wartime functions of Administrator Hoover resulted directly from the Government's efforts to avert a famine in sugar, but the powers delegated to the head of the Department of Justice will be used also to help put down the ever-mounting cost of living.

Mr. Palmer's staff began immediately to build up a sugar-distributing system which should allocate all sugar stocks in the country. It aimed to provide an equitable system of distributing supplies and to defeat any concentration or hoarding. Plans tentatively decided on provide for increasing the price of all sugar except the Louisiana crop, for which a price of 17 cents already had been fixed, to 12 cents a pound wholesale.

#### Japan Leads in Birth Rate

DURING 1917 the population of Japan, including the colonial possessions, registered a net increase from births of 612,774. The total number of recorded births for that year is 1,843,023 and the deaths 1,230,279. The net increase by sexes is: Males, 315,643; females, 297,101. Official reports show an increased marriage rate, a lower death rate, and a decrease in divorces.

A comparison with the pre-war vital statistics issued by the respective European Governments shows that the 1917 birth rate in Japan was exceeded by only Rumania and Hungary in 1914.

During 1917 there were 545,478 recorded marriages between Japanese subjects, an increase over 1916 of 14,723. These

marriages were at the rate of 7.99 per 1,000 of population, a rate exceeded in 1914 in Rumania, 8.5, and England and Wales, 8.0. In other European countries in 1914, the last year for which statistics are available, the marriage rate per 1,000 stood: Germany, 7.7; Scotland, 7.4; Hungary, 7.2; Italy, 7.1; Denmark, 6.9; Austria and the Netherlands, 6.7; Spain and Norway, 6.5; Finland and Sweden, 5.8; Ireland, 5.4, and France, 5.1.

Divorce in Japan is a very simple process, involving mainly the decision of one or the other party to the marriage to cancel it, with the sanction of the family council, but despite this there was a decrease of 4,452 in the year's divorces.

# The Coal Miners' Strike

## Hundreds of Thousands Walk Out Despite Injunction, Threatening a Catastrophe to Industries

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 23, 1919]

THE greatest strike in the history of the coal industry of the United States began on Nov. 1, 1919, when a call for the walkout of 600,000 miners in the bituminous coal fields, issued by the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America, went partly into effect. The demands of the miners included a six-hour day, a five-day week, and a 60 per cent. increase in wages, the most drastic proposal ever made by workmen in the history of American trade unionism, involving, if complied with, an extra tax upon industrial and domestic America of more than one billion dollars annually.

These terms had been unconditionally rejected by the mine operators, who called on the miners to live up to their existing contracts. The miners replied that on the date set the workers of their organization would begin the projected strike. All propositions submitted by Secretary of Labor Wilson in an earnest effort to effect an agreement were rejected. Secretary Wilson then appealed to the President to intervene in a situation which threatened consequences of the gravest concern to the whole nation. From his sickbed President Wilson dictated a letter, in which he proposed: (1) That the representatives of the miners and operators resume negotiations in an effort to reach a peaceful settlement. (2) That, if the miners and operators failed to agree, the matters in dispute be referred to a board of arbitration. (3) That pending the decision of the board the strike be called off, and the operation of the mines be continued without interruption.

Secretary Wilson at once called representatives of the miners and operators together, and communicated to them the President's letter. The President's proposals were accepted by the operators, but were rejected by the miners after

failure to obtain guarantees that the suggested conferences would insure the fulfillment of the miners' demands. Secretary Wilson, finding himself unable to shake their decision, adjourned the meeting sine die.

### THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

The President, however, after receiving information of the miners' uncompromising attitude, on the following day (Oct. 25) issued a statement in which he denounced the proposed strike as not only unjustifiable, but unlawful, and requested the officers and members of the coal unions to recall the strike order, so that production might not be interrupted, and again to seek to arbitrate their differences. He denounced the strike as an attack upon the rights of society and the welfare of the country, and declared that the law would be enforced. The President's statement was as follows:

White House, Washington, Oct. 25, 1919.  
On Sept. 23, 1919, the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Cleveland, Ohio, adopted a proposal declaring that all contracts in the bituminous field shall be declared as having automatically expired Nov. 1, 1919, and making various demands, including a 60 per cent. increase in wages and the adoption of a six-hour workday and a five-day week, and providing that, in the event a satisfactory wage agreement should not be secured for the central competitive field before Nov. 1, 1919, the national officials should be authorized and instructed to call a general strike of all bituminous miners and mine workers throughout the United States, effective Nov. 1, 1919.

Pursuant to these instructions, the officers of the organization have issued a call to make the strike effective Nov. 1. This is one of the gravest steps ever proposed in this country, affecting the economic welfare and the domestic comfort and health of the people. It is proposed to abrogate an agreement as to wages which was made with the sanction of the United States Fuel Administration and which was to run during the continuance of the war, but not beyond April 1, 1920.

This strike is proposed at a time when the Government is making the most earnest effort to reduce the cost of living and has appealed with success to other classes of workers to postpone similar disputes until a reasonable opportunity has been afforded for dealing with the cost of living. It is recognized that the strike would practically shut off the country's supply of its principal fuel at a time when interference with that supply is calculated to create a disastrous fuel famine. All interests would be affected alike by a strike of this character, and its victims would be not the rich only, but the poor and the needy as well, those least able to provide in advance a fuel supply for domestic use. It would involve the shutting down of countless industries and the throwing out of employment of a large part of the workers of the country. It would involve stopping the operation of railroads, electric light and gas plants, street railway lines and other public utilities, and the shipping to and from this country, thus preventing our giving aid to the allied countries with supplies which they so seriously need.

The country is confronted with this prospect at a time when the war itself is still a fact, when the world is still in suspense as to negotiations for peace, when our troops are still being transported, and when their means of transport is in urgent need of fuel.

From whatever angle the subject may be viewed it is apparent that such a strike in such circumstances would be the most far-reaching plan ever presented in this country to limit the facilities of production and distribution of a necessity of life and thus indirectly to restrict the production and distribution of all the necessities of life. A strike under these circumstances is not only unjustifiable, it is unlawful.

The action proposed has apparently been taken without any vote upon the specific proposition by the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America throughout the United States, an almost unprecedented proceeding. I cannot believe that any right of any American worker needs for its protection the taking of this extraordinary step, and I am convinced that, when the time and manner are considered, it constitutes a fundamental attack, which is wrong both morally and legally, upon the rights of society and upon the welfare of our country. I feel convinced that individual members of the United Mine Workers would not vote, upon full consideration, in favor of such a strike under these conditions.

When a movement reaches the point where it appears to involve practically the entire productive capacity of the country with respect to one of the most vital necessities of daily domestic and indus-

trial life, and when the movement is asserted in the circumstances I have stated and at a time and in a manner calculated to involve the maximum of danger to the public welfare in this critical hour of our country's life, the public interest becomes the paramount consideration.

In these circumstances I solemnly request both the national and the local officers and also the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America to recall all orders looking to a strike on Nov. 1, and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent any stoppage of work.

It is time for plain speaking. These matters with which we now deal touch not only the welfare of a class, but vitally concern the well-being, the comfort, and the very life of all the people. I feel it my duty in the public interest to declare that any attempt to carry out the purposes of this strike and thus to paralyze the industry of the country, with the consequent suffering and distress of all our people, must be considered a grave moral and legal wrong against the Government and the people of the United States. I can do nothing less than to say that the law will be enforced, and means will be found to protect the interests of the nation in any emergency that may arise out of this unhappy business.

I express no opinion on the merits of the controversy. I have already suggested a plan by which a settlement may be reached, and I hold myself in readiness at the request of either or both sides to appoint at once a tribunal to investigate all the facts with a view to aiding in the earliest possible orderly settlement of the question at issue between the coal operators and the coal miners, to the end that the just rights, not only of those interests but also of the general public, may be fully protected.

#### MINERS DEFIANT

John F. Lewis, Acting President of the United Mine Workers of America, replying on Oct. 26 to the President's statement, declared that the status quo still obtained. Meanwhile the Federal Government discussed the taking of Governmental action under the Lever food control law, and resolutions were offered in both houses of Congress condemning the miners' attitude and declaring that any action which the Government might take to prevent the strike would be supported by Congress. On the following day President Lewis, just before his departure for Indianapolis to take active charge of the threatened strike, declared that the strike order was still

in effect, and that the 600,000 miners would walk out to a man unless the operators made concessions.

By telegraph the same night Lewis invited twenty-five district Presidents of unions in coal-producing States and members of the Miners' Scale Committee to meet with the International Board, to discuss the President's statement, which Lewis characterized as "astounding," "without precedent" and "without warrant of law." Had President Wilson not upheld the decision of Dr. H. A. Garfield, as United States Fuel Administrator, a year before, said Lewis, in refusing an advance of wages, the present crisis would never have occurred.

Judge Joseph Buffington, senior Judge of the United States Circuit Court, through which thousands of foreign-born miners had been naturalized in Pennsylvania, on Oct. 27 issued an appeal to the miners to uphold the President. This appeal was sent to all foreign-language newspapers in the United States, and distributed in all communities where foreign-born citizens resided. On the following day many miners in the Eastern Ohio bituminous fields announced that if the Government took over the operation of the soft-coal mines they were ready to continue work under adequate military protection.

#### THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

Meanwhile Attorney General Palmer declared that the strike was a challenge to the law, that the nation's life was attacked, that the mines would be protected by the Government, and that the Department of Justice was preparing to take vigorous steps against all who conspired to restrict the supply or distribution of the nation's fuel supply. All the resources of the Government would be used, said Attorney General Palmer, to prevent the national disaster involved by the threatened strike.

The miners themselves on Oct. 29, after a meeting of the union officials, issued a statement in which they said that "a canvass of the entire situation showed that a strike of bituminous miners could not be avoided," and placed the blame for the strike upon the operators. The dissatisfaction of the miners for the

last two years with the pay they were receiving was set forth; they were determined to discontinue the operation of the mines unless a new agreement should be signed.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR STRIKE

The operators held a meeting in Cleveland on Oct. 30 to consider problems arising from the expected strike. No hope of averting it was entertained. The Southwest Coal Operators, however, agreed to a proposal made by Governor Allen to negotiate a new contract and wage scale for the Kansas district, independent of other districts, on condition that the men remain at work, while Governor Cornwall of West Virginia, after the receipt of definite warnings of threatened disorders, issued a proclamation saying that any miners engaging in an armed uprising and invasion of any parts of the State would be treated as insurrectionists. The situation in Indianapolis was so threatening that the citizens asked the Governor's permission to arm themselves for their own protection.

The Federal Government, meanwhile, took measures to insure the protection of all workers by the armed forces of the United States, and the re-establishment of the old maximum coal prices of the Fuel Administration was approved by the President. On the same date the Senate, after four hours' debate, and with but one dissenting vote—that of Senator Fall—voted to assure the President of the support of Congress in maintaining order during the "present industrial emergency." This Senate resolution of support was adopted by the House on Oct. 31 without a dissenting vote.

President Lewis sent a message to Secretary Wilson at this time in which he denounced President Wilson and the Cabinet as the allies of "sinister financial interests." This communication was sent as a telegram in response to a previous telegram sent by Secretary Wilson, which was read before the strike executive council of the union on the day before, but which Lewis declined to make public. The labor reply, which was approved by the Executive Council, de-

clared that the President's statement had "done more to prevent a satisfactory settlement than any other element which has entered into the situation." The reply said further:

The President of the United States is the servant, and not the master, of the Constitution. Yet his statement of Oct. 25 threatens the mine workers with a sanctified peonage, demands that they perform involuntary service, proclaims a refusal to work to be a crime when no such crime exists, nor can such a crime be defined under the Constitution.

#### JUDGE ANDERSON'S INJUNCTION

The next important development came on Oct. 31, when Judge Albert Anderson of the Federal District Court at Indianapolis issued a temporary injunction restraining John L. Lewis and other officials of the United Mine Workers of America from taking any further steps in directing the coal strike called for the following day. Attorney General Palmer at the same time declared that the United States, exercising its authority through the Department of Justice, was prepared to use every power of the Federal Government in compelling obedience to the mandate of the court.

The granting of this injunction came as a shock to the labor leaders, though the taking of such an action had been more or less anticipated. Soon after the news reached Washington, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, with other leaders, hurried to the Department of Justice to confer with Attorney General Palmer. The conference was long, and the leaders bitterly protested against the action taken by the Government. On their return to the American Federation of Labor Building, they issued a joint statement, in which they asserted that the injunction would result in the creation of "new and disturbing issues," and adding that these "may not be confined solely to the miners."

#### LABOR LEADERS' STATEMENT

The text of this statement is given herewith:

Throughout the period of the war and during the nation's time of stress the miners of America labored patiently, patriotically, and arduously in order that the principles of freedom and democracy

might triumph over the forces of arbitrary authority, dictatorship, and despotism.

When armed hostilities ceased last November the miners found themselves in the paradoxical position where their intensive labors were being used to further enrich the owners of coal mines and merchants dealing in coal by the immediate reduction of the mining of the coal. Of course the mine owners readily conceived that an overabundance of mined coal would seriously disturb the high prices of coal and endanger their large margin of profits.

On the other hand, the miners found that with the constantly rising cost of necessities of life and with their income reduced over 50 per cent. because of idleness they had reached the limit of human endurance.

Orderly and improved processes were invoked to negotiate a new understanding with the mine owners, and which would enable the miners to work at least five days during each week throughout the entire year and allow them a wage sufficient to enable them to live in decency and free from any of the pressing uncertainties of life.

In attempting to negotiate this new understanding and relation the miners found that their plea for continuous employment would destroy the mine owners' arrangement to curtail the mining of coal so as to continue exploiting the public with high and exorbitant prices.

The mine owners very clearly met the issue by appearing willing and anxious to negotiate, but only if the miners would first throw aside the only power at their command to gain a respectful hearing and fair consideration—the decision to strike whenever it was demonstrated fair dealings did not prevail.

We are now faced with a coal strike of vast magnitude. The Government now proposes to intervene because of a possible coal shortage. Apparently the Government is not concerned with the manipulation by the mine owners which has made for present coal shortage and undue unemployment of the miners for the past eleven months. Instead of dealing with those responsible for this grave menace to the public welfare it now proposes to punish those who by force of circumstances have been the victims of the coal barons' exploitations. The miners are now told the war is not over and that all war legislation is still in force, and if reports received here are correct the Government intends to apply existing war measures, not against the owners of the coal mines, but against the coal miners. The Government has taken steps to enforce war measures by an injunction and it has restrained the officials of the United Mine Workers from counseling,

aiding, or in any way assisting the members of this organization for relief against grievous conditions of life and employment.

It is almost inconceivable that a Government which is proud of its participation in a great war to liberate suppressed peoples should now undertake to suppress the legitimate aims, hopes, and aspirations of a group of its own people. It is still more strange that a nation which may justly be proud of its Abraham Lincoln should now reverse the application of the great truth he enunciated when he said that as between capital and labor, labor should receive first and foremost consideration.

The injunction against the United Mine Workers bodes for ill. An injunction of this nature will not prevent the strike, it will not fill the empty stomachs of the miners, it may restrain sane leadership, but will give added strength to unwise counsel and increase bitterness and friction.

This injunction can only result in creating new and more disturbing issues which may not be confined solely to the miners. These views were presented to Attorney General Palmer in a conference this afternoon, lasting nearly two hours, by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, and Vice President Woll of the American Federation of Labor.

#### MINERS QUIT WORK

At midnight in the last day of October a large proportion of the bituminous coal miners quit work, despite the fact that their leaders had been silenced and prohibited from further activity in promoting the strike. Many of the workers went out at the end of their day's work. Shortly after being served with the injunction, President Lewis had issued the following comment:

I regard the issuance of this injunction as the most sweeping abrogation of the rights of citizens guaranteed under the Constitution and defined by statutory law that has ever been issued by any Federal court.

This instrument will not avert the strike by bituminous mine workers and will not settle the strike after it occurs. The injunction only complicates to a further degree the problems involved in an adjustment of the controversy.

Mr. Lewis had been busy all day sending telegrams to local unions and preparing to carry the strike into effect, but ceased his activities after receiving the injunction. The temporary restraining order had been issued on a petition

filed in behalf of the United States Government against Frank J. Hayes, President of the mine workers, and eighty-three other national and district officers by the Assistant Attorney General. The hearing of the case was set for Saturday, Nov. 8. The Federal authorities asked that at the final hearing the strike order be recalled. Meanwhile the operators declared that they would keep the Central Field mines open.

#### FIRST DAY OF STRIKE

On Nov. 1, the first day of the strike, the union leaders declared that some 394,600 miners had gone out. The reports showed also that the soft-coal workers in some cases were ignoring the injunction. Mines in Western and Central States, Ohio, and Maryland, had been paralyzed. The non-union miners, representing the product of 175,000,000 tons of coal, continued work, and the operators asserted that 66 per cent. of Pennsylvania's and all West Virginia's mines were in operation.

Meanwhile the Government's measures to insure the workers protection began to operate; additional troops were moved to West Virginia, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico. The union leaders remained quiet at their headquarters at Indianapolis, though it was stated that counsel for the unions were completing plans to resist the issuance of a permanent injunction. At this time the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen issued a statement of sympathy. The Attorney General instructed the Federal Attorneys to give notice immediately of any violation of the injunction. All strikers were being watched. Measures were taken also to prevent profiteering in coal, and the Railway Administration perfected plans for the transportation and distribution of the coal supplies already at hand.

On Nov. 3 the situation remained essentially the same, though Washington was more hopeful after a conference held by Secretary Wilson with members of the Government Division of Labor for Strike Conciliation. At this time there were signs of a break in the labor ranks, especially perceptible in West Virginia, where fifteen union mines in the north-

ern fields resumed operations. The labor union members were already looking to Washington in the expectation of a call to confer. A definite public pronouncement against the injunction was issued by Samuel Gompers on Nov. 4 in Washington. He said in part:

If the injunction were vacated, and the Department of Labor invited the operators and the representatives of the United Mine Workers to a further conference, I have an abiding faith that a mutually honorable adjustment can be negotiated and effected whereby the coal strike can be brought to an end.

#### FIGHTING THE INJUNCTION

This proposal was heartily indorsed by President Lewis, who stated that the miners would be willing to resume negotiations with the operators immediately if the injunction were vacated. Mr. Lewis declared that the machinery of joint bargaining was still intact, and could be brought quickly into operation. Meantime Attorney General Palmer declared that the Government would accept no compromise and would continue all efforts to make the temporary injunction permanent.

The officials of the United Mine Workers of America made their first active move on Nov. 6 by filing in the Federal Court at Indianapolis a motion to dissolve Judge Anderson's restraining order. This motion held that the Government had no right to interfere in the controversy between the miners and operators, and declared that it was without "equity and clean hands" in the prosecution of the suit. It further contended that the Fuel Administration was dissolved at the end of the war, and that it should not have been re-established. It also charged that the Government's action had brought about confusion and disorder, and that its real purpose in the suit was to extricate the Administration from the "unfortunate state of disorder in which it had involved itself."

At this time reports were coming in that coal production was gaining in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Mexico, Alabama, Wyoming and Colorado. To conserve available coal supplies, all oceangoing steamships under foreign flags were refused bunker coal.

#### THE INJUNCTION UPHELD

After three separate conferences with the Attorney General on Nov. 7 Mr. Gompers submitted a proposal to settle the strike. The injunction case, however, was not deferred, and on Nov. 8 Judge Anderson ruled that the bituminous coal strike was a defiance of the Fuel Control act, almost equivalent to rebellion, refused to listen to the miners' representatives who sought to demonstrate the miners' right to strike, and issued an order to the United Mine Workers to recall the strike order before Nov. 11.

The counsel for the miners stated after the hearing that President Lewis would obey the mandate, but declined to speak for the other leaders. Gompers and other labor chiefs were visibly surprised and disconcerted by the failure of their case at Indianapolis, and implied that officials of the Federation of Labor might be called to conference preparatory to the making of an appeal to President Wilson. Later, however, they expressed defiance, and on Nov. 9 the Executive Committee of the Federation of Labor, at a meeting held in Washington, issued a statement denouncing the Government's injunction against the coal strike as "so autocratic as to stagger the human mind," pledging the support of the federation to the continuance of the strike, and calling on all organized labor in the country to aid the strikers, and to support "the men engaged in this momentous struggle."

In reply Attorney General Palmer, with the full approval of the President, issued a statement which reiterated the charge that the strike was a violation of the laws of the United States, and the Government's determination to enforce its own interpretation. The United States, this statement said, refused to "surrender to the dictation of any group, and it proposes to assert its power to protect itself and the people." Mr. Gompers made rebuttal in a speech delivered at a dinner given to the delegates of the International Labor Conference on Nov. 10, in which he declared that President Wilson did not fully understand the strike situation, and maintained the workers' right to obtain freedom and

justice, "which must prevail over any temporary administration."

#### AN ALL-NIGHT SESSION

The momentous question of whether the miners would comply with Judge Anderson's mandate to rescind the strike call was thrashed out in an exhaustive discussion of the United Mine Workers' Executive Committee, which met at Indianapolis on Nov. 11. This conference was in session all day and far into the night. Fierce debate characterized the session, with the radical element very much in evidence, and lasted all through the night. Many fell asleep in their chairs after seventeen hours of deliberation. No restriction was placed on the length or the number of speeches. It was a bitter fight to the end between the counsels of the reckless and the sane, between defiance and obedience to the order of the court, and the conservatives ultimately won the hard-fought battle. At 4:10 o'clock in the morning the decision to rescind the strike order was reached, and the exhausted members of the committee adjourned.

In accordance with this decision, the strike order was recalled. The labor leaders, however, denounced the injunction and announced their intention of appealing the case to the highest tribunal. The statement issued subsequently said in part:

When the officials of the United Mine Workers of America announced that they would comply with the order of the United States Court and obey its mandate they simply followed the union's historic policy of patriotic devotion to the Government and American ideals and institutions. The United Mine Workers will not fight the Government. It is their Government just as it is the Government of every other citizen. It is their Government just as it is the Government of the coal operators.

Immediately following the recall of the strike order, the Federal Government took prompt action to bring together the coal miners and operators for a settlement of their differences. After a meeting of the Cabinet, Secretary of Labor Wilson called both sides to the controversy to meet at Washington on Friday, Nov. 14. Meanwhile the recall of the strike order was issued. Seven mines

were reopened in West Virginia, but in many fields the miners awaited the receipt of the official notification before returning to the collieries, and the coal situation grew steadily worse as day by day went by and the operators and miners failed to reach an agreement.

#### JOINT CONFERENCE BEGINS

On Nov. 14 the joint conference of the miners and operators began in Washington. A conciliatory attitude was developed by the opening address of Secretary Wilson, who warned both the miners and the operators that they must drop their uncompromising attitude, and urged compromise for the sake of the public, which would have to bear the burden of any increase in coal prices. The demands made by the miners for a six-hour day and a five-day week, and for a 60 per cent. increase in wages, the Secretary told the miners plainly, were impossible. President Lewis spoke in reply. Both the operators and the miners admitted that the conference should not come to a close without an agreement.

At the session of Nov. 15 an agreement was reached that the immediate negotiations should be restricted to the central competitive district, covering the great coal fields of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania. This restriction, which was in accordance with a custom that had been followed for many years in strike negotiations, was accepted by the miners after refusal by the operators to discuss a nation-wide contract. The miners then presented a draft of their original demands, which Secretary Wilson had declared "impossible." At the close of the session the operators declared that a 60 per cent. increase in wages could not be granted, and promised to submit a draft of counterproposals. No action, however, was taken, and on Nov. 18 the miners declared that discussion was being held up by the secret meetings of the operators, who apparently could not agree among themselves.

#### DR. GARFIELD'S ACTION

At this point Dr. Garfield, clothed with all his wartime powers as Fuel

Administrator, and acting by direct authority from the President's Cabinet, called on Nov. 19 a joint meeting of the conflicting parties, on whom he served formal notice that mining operations on a large scale must be resumed, and that coal must be produced at a reasonable price. As ground for the urgency of agreement, the situation in the coal fields generally was pointed out. Dr. Garfield cited the drastic action of the State Governments of North Dakota and Kansas in taking over the coal pits to operate them under State authority. (Later a court decision handed back the North Dakota mines to the operators.) He also cited the reports from the Central Competitive Fields, embracing the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania, strongholds of the United Mine Workers of America, which showed all mines shut down and not enough coal coming from non-union plants in other States to meet the normal demand by several million tons.

The operators and miners met in a committee of sixteen; no definite proposals were offered by the former, but both sides were hopeful after the session. One point discussed was whether the operators' taxes should be included in the price to the public, which the Government had disputed. President Lewis charged the operators with receiving 125 per cent. more profit for coal in 1919 than in 1914, while the miners' wages showed an increase of only a little more than 37 per cent., as against an increase of 110 per cent. in the cost of living.

Discussion was resumed on Nov. 20, and ended in a deadlock. The operators made a proposal of an increase of 15 cents per ton to pick and machine miners, a 20 per cent. increase for day labor, and the same working hours that had previously obtained. They also proposed that the new contract should extend to March 31, 1922, thus obviating the danger of another strike in the Fall, the Mine Workers' Association to be responsible for the fulfillment of the contract, and a penalty clause for unauthorized strikes to be included in the contract. The representatives of the miners re-

jected these counterproposals unconditionally as "preposterous and ridiculous," while the operators declared that they represented the utmost concessions which could be made.

The committee recommended the creation of a National Industrial Board with powers of compulsory investigation, mediation, and recommendation. It recommended also an Americanization bill to be passed by Congress for the education of foreigners in the principles of our Government; also that workmen in industrial districts be provided with their own homes, that no one be naturalized who is unable to speak the English language, and that an effective law be passed to deal with anarchists and revolutionists.

#### NEARING A COMPROMISE

With the threat of Governmental intervention hanging over their heads, the operators and miners on Nov. 21 struggled for several hours to reach an agreement. After four hours of fruitless argument Secretary of Labor Wilson was called in at 6 o'clock in the evening, and a stormy session followed for two hours longer, with the result that the miners abandoned their demand for a thirty-hour week; no basis for settlement, however, was reached. On the following day the uncompromising attitude of the operators continued. Secretary Wilson's proposal of a 31 per cent. increase of wages was rejected, and the operators demanded that the Fuel Administration assume responsibility for the added burden on the public involved in the previous offer of a 15-cent increase and 20 per cent. to day labor before they again submitted it. The workers on their part accepted the Secretary's proposal, but held out for a seven-hour day.

At this juncture the operators turned to the Government for a solution, asking the President's Cabinet for instructions as to whether or not they must accept Secretary Wilson's proposal. On Nov. 23 Dr. Garfield, Director General of Railways Hines, and Attorney General Palmer conferred and an early decision was expected.

## Other Phases of Labor Unrest

### The Steel Strike Fails

THE strike in the iron and steel industries of the United States proved a failure. The leaders themselves admitted the fact on Nov. 23, 1919. When the call had been issued Sept. 22, 162,474 workmen out of 228,430 in the Pittsburgh district alone went out or were forced out; of the 162,474, over 60 per cent., or 109,455, were back at work Nov. 23, and the plants were running about 100 per cent. full on Nov. 25. In the Wheeling district, which held out longest, the strikers voted to return to work. It was estimated in the last week in November that the steel industry was working over 90 per cent., and could have been operating on a 100 per cent. basis but for the coal strike. The payroll loss to the strikers in the Pittsburgh district alone had been \$29,604,064. The Senate Committee which investigated the strike said in its report on Nov. 8:

The committee is of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor has made a serious mistake, and has lost much favorable public opinion which otherwise they would possess, by permitting the leadership of this strike movement to pass into the hands of some who heretofore have entertained most radical and dangerous doctrines. If labor is to retain the confidence of that large element of our population which affiliates neither with labor organizations nor capital, it must keep men who entertain and formulate un-American doctrines out of its ranks and join with the employers of labor in eliminating this element from the industrial life of our nation.

Unquestionably the United States Steel Corporation has had the support of a larger and of a wider circle in the country during the strike because of the character of some of the strike leadership. Labor organizations should not place the workingman in the position of any sympathy with un-American doctrines or make them followers of any such leadership. Such practice will result in defeating the accomplishment of their demands.

The Senate committee severely criticised William Z. Foster, Secretary to the committee which managed the strike, for his radical sentiments, and held that he had hurt the cause he was trying to assist. The committee censured other

strike leaders, among them President Gompers of the Federation of Labor, for their failure to postpone the strike when called upon to do so by the President. It also censured Judge Gary for not heeding the request of the President to confer with Gompers and other union labor officials in an effort to prevent the walk-out.

Concerning hours of labor and collective bargaining, the committee found that the laborers in the steel mills had a just complaint relative to the long hours of service on the part of some of them and the right to have that complaint heard by the company, and that they had the right to have the representatives of their own choosing present grievances to the employers.

The eight-hour day [says the report] is involved in the solution of this question. These non-English-speaking aliens must be Americanized and must learn our language, so the question of a reasonable working day is involved in the question of Americanization. Men cannot work ten and twelve hours per day and attend classes at night school.

It is the general consensus of opinion of the best economic writers and thinkers that the establishment of eight-hour-day systems does not diminish production. Nor do we think the claim made that an eight-hour day is impossible because the workmen cannot be secured for three shifts is tenable. An eight-hour day with a living wage that will enable men to support their families and bring up their children according to the standards of American life ought to be a cardinal part of our industrial policy, and the sooner the principle is recognized the better it will be for the entire country.

The public also has an interest in the problem of an eight-hour day. Fatigue in humankind is a breeder of unrest and dissatisfaction.

### LONGSHOREMEN'S STRIKE SETTLED

The strike of the longshoremen, which almost completely tied up New York Harbor and put on embargo practically on all exports, was ended Nov. 4 by a compromise, the men receding from their extravagant demands; an award of an increase of 22½ per cent. was given them on Nov. 22 by the National Adjustment

Committee of the United States Shipping Board, the rate of wages to run to Oct. 1, 1920; the men receive 80 cents an hour, \$1.20 for overtime; they had demanded \$1 an hour and \$2 for overtime. At one time there were 70,000 men out and 495 ships, aggregating 1,693,700 tons, were tied up in New York Harbor.

The strike in the printing trade in New York growing out of a controversy between the unions was settled Nov. 25 by the printers and pressmen returning to work under orders of their international officers at an increase of \$6 a week; they had demanded \$14 and refused to arbitrate a demand for a 44-hour week. The strike tied up fifty periodicals, some of which missed their No-

vember issues, and many of which were printed in other cities. *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* appeared in November by resorting to the rotogravure presses of *THE NEW YORK TIMES*; two-thirds of the December issue also is etched in rotogravure; the strike ended in time for the first sixty-four pages of this issue to be printed on ordinary rotary presses.

The plea of the Boston police who sought restoration to the positions from which they were removed for striking was denied by the Massachusetts Supreme Court Nov. 7; 600 new policemen had been installed by Nov. 10, and it was expected to have a new force entirely recruited soon thereafter.

## Dealing With Anarchist Agitators

### Evidence of Worldwide Conspiracy

ACCUMULATING evidence of Bolshevik and anarchist agitation throughout the United States stirred the Government to action in the Autumn of 1919. As early as August the President asked Congress to continue the passport law for a year after the formal proclamation of peace, in view of the receipt of information that many undesirable persons of anarchistic proclivities were seeking to enter the United States from abroad. Toward the end of October, Representative Albert Johnson proposed a bill in the House to fulfill the President's request, and gave new reasons why the passing of this measure was necessary.

Disclosures of radical activities in Gary, Ind., during the steel strike roused public concern; they showed a widespread agitation to overthrow the United States Government. An Americanization bill was reported in the Senate on Oct. 27, which proposed fines and imprisonment for exhibiting a red flag or advocating the Government's overthrow. Further plots were revealed in Cleveland and elsewhere, and fifteen arrests were made in connection with a bomb plot to be carried out next May. The success of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts in

obtaining re-election on the issue of the Boston police strike was taken by the President and others as a good omen in showing the attitude of the general public.

The Lusk Investigating Committee, acting under the New York State Government, raided the Russian People's House in New York City on Nov. 9, taking thirty-five men and two women to Ellis Island for deportation; about 150 other men were subsequently released for lack of evidence. In all some seventy-three Red centres were raided at this time by a force of 700 policemen, and tons of seditious literature were seized. More than 200 persons were to be deported. Some sixty more were seized at Bridgeport. At the same time news came that Brazil was conducting a similar campaign, and on Oct. 31 had sent sixteen anarchists back to Europe.

Examination of the literature seized in New York showed an organized effort to overthrow the Government after the declaring of a general strike, to nationalize all industries, to blow up barracks, to shoot the police, to put an end to religion, and to set free all criminals. On Nov. 10 some 391 alien Reds were under arrest, and deportation measures had

been begun in a number of cities to rid the country of violent and dangerous agitators.

A great sensation was roused in the State of Washington on Nov. 11, when an armistice parade of American Legion soldiers at Centralia was fired upon and four of the marchers were killed, two others fatally wounded, and several seriously hurt. The shots were fired by I. W. W. members from their building on one of the main streets. Subsequently a mob surrounded the Centralia jail, succeeded in seizing one of the men arrested for the outrage, and hanged him just outside the city limits. Fifty-one radicals were arrested, their literature was seized, and the Mayor of Seattle issued a warning to all agitators to keep that city "out of their future itineraries." The affair aroused great indignation in Congress, where fifty-two bills against radical agitation were pending. A few days later, on Nov. 16, a pitched battle between the authorities and I. W. W. fugitives occurred.

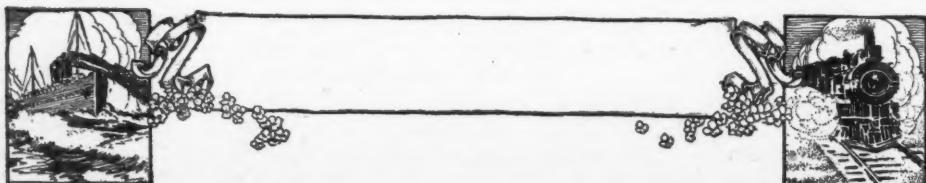
Another city that entered the struggle against Red propaganda was San Francisco, where the headquarters of the Radical Labor Party were raided, wrecked, and burned by former service men. Raids were also conducted in Washington and Oregon cities, and strong military measures were taken in West Virginia in connection with the coal strike.

Meanwhile bills were offered in Congress transferring from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice the enforcement of all existing deportation laws. Disclosures by Government agents of Bolshevik activities in Mexico were made on Nov. 14. Considerable distribution of Red propaganda in the

United States via Mexico had been carried on by Bolsheviks whom the "ultra-modern" features of the Mexican Constitution had attracted. Attorney General Palmer on Nov. 15 asked the United States for a sedition act to apply against the Red agitators, revealing the work of the Union of Russians and the existence of 472 publications in various languages preaching the overthrow of the Government.

On Nov. 19 a New York Grand Jury began its investigation of the anarchist movement. Many subpoenas were issued, and Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the unrecognized "Ambassador" of the Russian Soviet Republic in the United States, was summoned as a witness in spite of his protests on the ground of diplomatic immunity. Disclosure of the raising of a sum of \$68,000 by the Reds in New York, and the condemning to death of three prominent officials of the department active in the suppression of seditious activities, was made on Nov. 22. At this time Byron S. Uhl, acting Commissioner of Immigration, reported that many alien anarchists sent to New York for deportation last Spring from the Northwest and Middle West had been released in this community, among them men implicated in a plot against the President; Commissioner Uhl criticised the Labor Department for the release of these men.

In Reading, Penn., on Nov. 23, a Debs amnesty meeting scheduled to be held in the Socialist-Labor Lyceum was called off by the Mayor after the gathering of a crowd of 5,000 men, mostly service men, who threatened violence if the meeting was held. An afternoon parade of the radicals had similarly been suppressed.



# International Labor Conference

## Steps Toward Industrial Peace

THE International Labor Conference provided for in the Treaty of Versailles opened its first session in Washington on Oct. 29, 1919. The first move of the conference was to take steps to obtain the virtual participation of the United States in its sessions, although Congress had decided against the appointment of delegates prior to ratification of the Peace Treaty. On motion of Baron Mayor des Planches, Italian Government delegate, United States employers' and workers' organizations were invited unanimously to send representatives to take part in the deliberations.

While no attempt was made to obtain the appointment of Government delegates, as such action would have been in direct conflict with the decision of Congress, the United States was represented in the conference through Secretary of Labor Wilson, who opened the first session, and continued as permanent Chairman during the major portion of its deliberations. Secretary Wilson said that he would accept the nomination in view of his interpretation that the organization of the conference cannot be completed until the League of Nations is created, and that the United States is charged by the Versailles Treaty with the organization of the conference.

Owing to the lack of time the question of the admission of German and Austrian delegates was not taken up, and probably will be the first item on the program in the next session. Delegates generally expressed agreement that the former enemy powers should be admitted without delay.

The report of the Organization Committee, submitted by Arthur Fontaine, Chairman, and provisionally adopted by the conference, outlined in detail the development of the international labor organization, and submitted the tentative program and standing orders for the conference sessions.

Interpreting the provision of the Peace Treaty providing that of the twelve members of the governing body

of the conference eight should be named by the countries of chief industrial importance, the committee named nine countries, with the understanding that Germany be the last country on the list, and that Spain be dropped. The other seven nations are the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and Switzerland.

Samuel Gompers was invited to sit as unofficial representative of America. The chief discussion centred on the eight-hour day, favored as a maximum by the conference, except in certain specified industries. Compulsory employment by Governments was also discussed. Mr. Gompers, in a speech, declared that labor in the United States was bent on shortening the forty-eight-hour week.

Recognition of the principle of an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week was contained in a committee report completed on Nov. 22. In almost daily sessions since the conference convened, the committee, including delegates representing Governments, employers, and labor, had arrived at an agreement by a series of compromises. An international agreement with all countries except Japan, India, and other Oriental nations was indorsed. For continuous industries a fifty-six-hour week was conceded. The report also recommended the making up of time lost on Saturdays and holidays by a distribution of extra time throughout the week, even to the extent of permitting nine-hour days until the lost time was accounted for. Maritime labor was not included in the agreement.

On Nov. 23 the conference entered upon its final week of deliberation, the decision having been taken to adjourn on Nov. 29. Besides the elimination of organization matters, election of officers, admission of delegates, and other purely functional acts, the vital problems of the conference were thoroughly discussed and debated by a series of committees, which drew up and agreed upon certain principles, completed by Nov. 23, for submission to the conference during the last

week of discussion. The principles agreed upon were as follows:

(1) The adoption of the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week principle, with the exception that (a) where less than eight hours are worked on some days of the week the hours not worked may be redistributed on other days, but with no day to exceed nine hours, and (b) that in continuous processes the limit shall not exceed fifty-six hours a week. All overtime to be paid not less than time and a quarter. The labor employed in the devastated regions of France and Belgium is to be considered as employed under special conditions. This agreement cannot, of course, lower any higher standards already established by law or by collective agreement.

(2) The prohibition of work in industries between 10 P. M. and 5 A. M. for all women through the substitution of a modernized and enlarged convention for that adopted at Berne in 1906. The Eastern countries are prepared to adhere to the new convention.

(3) The prohibition of the employment in industry of children under 14 years of age, except that Japan has agreed and India has been asked to raise the limit in their respective countries from 9 to 12 and with 14 as the eventual standard.

(4) A special commission has dealt with the limitation of hours of work in Eastern and other special countries which were fully represented in the commission, and are recommending considerable reductions in the present hours of employment with definite limitations in each case.

(5) Special reports are to be received on unemployment, the employment of women before and after childbirth, and the employment of children at night.

The conference at this date issued an official statement in which it pointed out that its work was not purely a matter of discussion, since each of the forty countries represented had guaranteed to present the decisions of the conference to the competent legislative authority of each nation involved within one year. The widely representative nature of the conference was also emphasized; it included both highly organized industrial States and less developed States of South America, Africa, and Asia. All measures taken would protect the one group from the unfair competition of lower labor standards, and safeguard to States still in process of industrialization a more liberal system.

The organization of the conference into three groups—Governments, employers, and workers—this statement said,

had brought great benefit in equalizing discussion and eliminating the possibility of any nation adopting legislation either above or below the standard set by its neighbors. One of the most important achievements of the conference was the selection of the governing body of the International Office, designed to be the permanent labor organization associated with the League of Nations. Considerable difficulty had been experienced in selecting these members, but full agreement was expected before the conference adjourned. Already many problems had been referred to it by the conference for examination.

#### WORKING WOMEN'S CONGRESS

The International Working Women's Congress at Washington concluded its sessions on Nov. 6. Some fifty delegates had come from foreign countries, eleven nations besides the United States being represented.

Prohibition of night work for men and women in all industries except those which are in continuous operation by reason of public necessity was discussed, delegates from the United States, France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Japan contending that this prohibition should affect men and women alike, while the British, Polish, and Italian delegations held that any international resolution to this effect should prohibit night work for women in all industries, and for men in all save continuous industries.

Discussion of a resolution providing for maternity benefits and protection was continued, the points in question being whether maternity indemnity should be granted to all women or only to women engaged in gainful occupations, and the manner in which the amount of this monetary allowance should be determined, whether it should be an adequate allowance for the mother and child, or whether the minimum wage of a country should be the basis of allotment.

The following resolution concerning the employment of women in "hazardous occupations" was adopted:

1. Prohibition of home work in such occupations.
2. No exception of small factories from

the regulations governing the industry.

3. Prohibition of the employment of women in trades which cannot be made healthy for women as potential mothers.

4. An international inquiry to be instituted in order to ascertain the scope of measures which have been adopted in different countries to control dangerous occupations and publication of the result, this with the object of making clearly known which countries fall short of the standards already established in the most advanced.

5. The appointment of a committee of women under the League of Nations, international in personnel, to co-ordinate the work of national research in the dangerous trades with a view to eliminating poisonous substances through the substitution of non-poisonous, and where this is impossible to devise new and efficient methods of protection.

#### LABOR CONGRESS IN CHICAGO

On Nov. 22 an important Labor Congress held its opening session in Chicago. Some 1,000 delegates were present, representing State labor unions, some affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, delegates from farmers' organizations, co-operative societies, non-partisan and Plumb-plan advocates, and other workers for advanced labor and social legislation. About forty women delegates attended. The opening address of welcome was made by John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of

Labor. A new labor party was formed, which adopted a program demanding free speech, free assemblage, and a free press. Max S. Hayes, in a keynote speech, advocated that all sources of production be thrown open to the people. The convention announced its intention not to nominate a national ticket at that time, but to issue a call for a convention to be held next Spring for that purpose.

#### NEW INDUSTRIAL BOARD

Undeterred by the failure of the Industrial Conference with its three separate groups, President Wilson on Nov. 20 named seventeen men for another conference on the relations of labor and capital. In his letter of invitation he said the "new representatives should have concern that our industries may be conducted with such regard for justice and fair dealing that the workman will feel himself induced to put forth his best efforts, that the employer will have an encouraging profit, and that the public will not suffer at the hands of either class."

No representatives of labor were included in the personnel, nor will there be any representatives of capital as such. Secretary of Labor Wilson heads the list, which includes three former Cabinet officers and two former Federal officials.

## Visit of the Prince of Wales

### Welcoming a Royal Guest

EDWARD, Prince of Wales, stepped upon the soil of the United States at Rouse's Point, N. Y., on Nov. 10, 1919. When he crossed the Canadian border he was officially greeted by Secretary of State Lansing, Major Gen. John Biddle, representing the army; Rear Admiral Albert T. Niblick, representing the navy; Major Gen. Charlton, representing the British Army; representatives of the British Embassy, and officers belonging to various staffs. He arrived at Washington the following day, where he was met by Vice President Marshall, General Pershing, the British Ambassa-

dor, General March, Secretary Daniels, and other prominent American officials. The Prince and his escort were conducted to the Perry Belmont residence, where he was quartered during his stay in Washington. The party was enthusiastically acclaimed as it proceeded through the streets of the city.

A dinner was given the Prince by the Vice President on the evening of the 11th. In proposing the health of the Prince at the dinner Vice President Marshall expressed regret that the President could not be present. After referring to the fact that one year had

elapsed since the armistice was signed, Mr. Marshall remarked that he wished to express gratitude that the Allies had stood together in the great war. He continued:

The old order ceased one year ago today. The new order then began. The conflict which started at Runnymede was ended by Haig and Foch and Pershing on the fields of France. The right of men to have a Government controlled by themselves, law-encrowned, is never more to be disputed in this world of ours if those who made the fight to put down military autocracy will make the fight to put down prejudice, suspicion, and doubt among the Allies.

I cannot forget that while we hesitated, while we doubted, while we wondered whether it was any of the part of our national mission to come to the defense of stricken Belgium and devastated France, England put her back to the wall and stood upon the far-flung battle-line of Europe, making freedom and Christian civilization possible even for the American Republic.

I shall not say that it was altogether altruistic. There may have been some element of self-defense in it. But may God give us all, when the time of self-defense comes, the same high altruistic ideals of the British Empire. More and more it seems to me that the fate of the future rests on the faith and confidence of the allied nations for each other.

Proposing a toast to the Prince, the Vice President said:

So, ladies and gentlemen, to the hope that the tie that binds may never be broken by doubt, suspicion, or treachery, that it may bind all of the allied peoples for all the years to come, I propose, as the faith of the American people, long life, health, and prosperity to his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales.

The response of the Prince was felicitous. He sympathetically referred to President Wilson and the late President Roosevelt, paid a graceful tribute to France, and alluded to his visit to Canada, reverting to the fact that no physical barriers or fortresses stood upon the boundaries between the United States and Canada. He closed by saying:

It seems to me that this example of nations living side by side in a spirit of political tolerance and human liberty is entirely incompatible with the militarism which threatened Europe in the great war, and is thus a living example of the great principles for which we gave our best in that terrible ordeal. \* \* \* As the representative here of the British Em-

pire, and also—I hope I may say—as a friend and great admirer of the American people, I reflect with pride that our common victory was a victory for the ideal to which we, with our institutions, and you with yours have given practical shape upon this continent for a hundred years.

He was tendered a reception at the Library of Congress on the evening of the 12th, which was attended by official Washington. On the following day he was admitted to President Wilson's bed-chamber and spent some time in friendly conversation with him. The same day he visited the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, where he had a wreath; in a corner of the same vault stood a wreath which Edward VII., the Prince's grandfather, had left there nearly sixty years before. The young man also planted a tree in the grounds.

He left Washington Nov. 14, after three days of busy sightseeing, receptions, and entertainments, for White Sulphur Springs, Va., where he rested for three days, having previously also visited Annapolis.

The Prince arrived in New York Nov. 18 and for three days was the guest of the city, every moment of his time being taken with receptions, sightseeing tours, dinners, and functions of various sorts. The reception tendered him was whole-hearted and sincere, and he won the heart of the people by his engaging manners, his friendly, boyish, outspoken demeanor, and his tactful, democratic bearing. The freedom of the city was conferred upon him by Mayor Hylan. He was taken to all points of interest in and about the city, and wherever he appeared upon the streets or in assemblies he was acclaimed with sincere demonstrations of regard.

He visited the grave of former President Roosevelt, where he deposited a wreath; another day he inspected the Cadets at West Point. He was tendered several notable dinners, at all of which he spoke with modesty, but with tact and judgment; he was a guest at a gala performance of the Metropolitan Opera, attended several theatrical performances, participated in dances in his honor, and visited the Stock Exchange, where he won the plaudits of the men of finance.

During his stay in the city the Prince's quarters were on the British battle cruiser Renown, which was anchored in the Hudson River off Eighty-sixth Street. Here he gave dinners to his hosts, received large delegations of high school students, and in other ways showed his appreciation of the warmth of his welcome. He left New York on

the Renown Nov. 22. Cablegrams of appreciation were sent by his father, King George, expressing keen pleasure over the welcome given the Prince; the British press also gave evidence of its extreme satisfaction over the success of the Prince's visit and the cordial manner in which the American people had taken him to their hearts.

## The Prohibition Enforcement Law Passed Over President's Veto

THE National Prohibition Enforcement bill, which was passed by Congress on Oct. 10, 1919, was vetoed by President Wilson on Oct. 27. The veto was based on the ground that the law, as passed, attempted to cover two different things—wartime prohibition, a temporary measure now practically ended, and the prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution, a permanent measure which goes into effect Jan. 16, 1920. The President made it clear that his objection was directed against the phase of the enforcement law applying to wartime prohibition. The bill, he said in his veto message, "has to do with the enforcement of an act which was passed by reason of the emergencies of the war, and whose objects have been satisfied by the demobilization of the army and navy."

Two hours after the veto message had reached the House of Representatives that body passed the bill over the President's disapproval by a vote of 176 to 55—twenty-one more than the necessary two-thirds. The Senate followed suit the next day by passing the bill over the veto by a vote of 65 to 20—eight more than the necessary two-thirds.

The law immediately went into effect, and orders were sent out the following day by the Internal Revenue Collector to enforce it rigidly. Saloons in most of the cities of the country were immediately closed, but at many points efforts were made to evade the law, followed immediately by raids by revenue officers and the arrest of the violators, all of whom were either fined or held to

court under heavy bonds. Large brewing and liquor interests in various centres took steps to test the validity of the act, and suits were filed in the Federal courts to restrain the Government from enforcing its provisions. The first decision was rendered by United States District Judge Arthur I. Brown at Providence, R. I., on Nov. 12, and a preliminary injunction against its enforcement was issued. The same day Federal Judge Evans, sitting at Louisville, Ky., announced that he would issue a similar injunction on Nov. 13. As soon as the decisions were made, saloons reopened in Louisville and in Providence. Three days later the United States Court of Appeals in Boston issued a stay to the injunction of Judge Brown, and the law was again enforced at Providence.

On Nov. 15 three Federal Judges—Hand, Knox, and Rose—handed down decisions in New York directly in conflict with Judges Brown and Evans, holding that the wartime prohibition was constitutional and that the act was a valid exercise of Congressional power. Two days later Federal Judge Carpenter at Chicago upheld the law, and the following day it was upheld by Judge Fitzhenry at Peoria, Ill. At St. Louis the court sustained a decision against the law, and the sale of 2.75 per cent. beer was resumed.

Meanwhile all efforts to fight the measure were concentrated in the legal steps taken before the United States Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of the entire prohibition law. The case was advanced by the court; the

arguments were begun Nov. 20 and lasted three days; the chief counsel for the liquor interests was former Secretary of State Elihu Root; the Anti-Saloon League co-operated with the Government in presenting the case. The Supreme Court adjourned Nov. 22 for a fortnight's recess, hence no decision was looked for until after Dec. 8. President Wilson let it be known that he would issue no proclamation lifting the ban on wartime prohibition in view of the failure of the Senate to ratify the Peace Treaty, hence the sole hope of the liquor interests of obtaining a period of freedom to resume business before constitutional prohibition went into effect on Jan. 16 rested with the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Ohio election on Nov. 4 resulted in a victory for the anti-prohibitionists by a majority of less than 500 in a total

vote of over 1,000,000, but the accuracy of the count was attacked by the prohibitionists; in the same election a referendum vote defeated the repeal of State prohibition by a large majority. In New Jersey a Democratic candidate for Governor, who stood on a pro-liquor platform, was elected; in Kentucky the prohibitionists carried the State by 10,717 and expressed themselves as satisfied with the results of the election generally.

The Government instituted measures to enforce the prohibition law rigidly. The country was divided into districts, and a Federal Prohibition Director was appointed to each, with numerous revenue agents under him.

There was a general observance of the law throughout the country from the start—with scattered exceptions in the larger cities—and nowhere were any disorders reported.

## “Absent Without Leave”

By CRITTENDEN MARRIOTT

[LATE DIRECTOR OF ACTIVITIES, Y. M. C. A., BORDEAUX REGION, FRANCE]

ONE of the great though comparatively minor tragedies of the world war was that of the men who were lost; not lost in the sense that they were killed or captured or missing, but lost in the ordinary significance of the term. Late in 1918 it was stated semi-officially that 120,000 privates and 18,000 officers were “A. W. O. L.” (absent without leave) in France. Every one, including the army authorities that made the statement, knew perfectly well that scarcely a tenth of these men were absent of their own will, and that the other nine-tenths were simply lost. In default, however, of any formal explanation of their absence, it was impossible to separate the sheep from the goats, and all had to be classed together.

It seems incredible, of course, that 120,000 men, let alone 18,000 officers, could possibly be wandering about France trying to find their “outfits” and failing to do so. Yet, not only these but thousands more had been lost, some

for weeks and some for months, who had at last reached their regimental home.

Take a true case: John Jones, private, landed at Brest in November, 1917, with his battalion. He was taken ill on his arrival and sent to a hospital. Three days later he was discharged as cured and ordered to rejoin his organization. Meanwhile, however, the organization had moved away under “sealed orders.” Even the Colonel in command probably did not know its ultimate destination, and not more than half a dozen men in Brest knew even its proximate destination. These were war times, and all movements of troops were carefully concealed.

John Jones applied to army headquarters in Brest and received a ticket for St. Sulpice and two days' rations; he was told to get on a certain train. Obediently, he went to the railway station. He did not speak a word of French and he found no one to point him right, but ultimately

he got on a train for somewhere and finally he brought up at a place called St. Sulpice, only to find that his organization was not there, that no American troops were there, and that none had ever been there. Clearly, it was the wrong St. Sulpice.

What was he to do? He was a country boy barely 21 years old, in a foreign land, ignorant of the language. Naturally, he was panic-stricken and was wild to find his own countrymen, of any organization, wherever they might be, who would steer him to the right St. Sulpice.

The French were very kind to American soldiers; they discovered that he was lost, they fed him, and arranged for him to take the train to the nearest known American camp.

At the camp he told his story and asked to be sent on to St. Sulpice. The Adjutant had never heard of the place, but he got out his railway guide, and after a while he found the name. A clerk made out a ticket and the Adjutant called an orderly. "Take this man to Company B and tell the Sergeant to feed him and give him a place to sleep tonight and have him at the 8 o'clock train tomorrow morning," he ordered.

Jones took the train as directed, but the St. Sulpice it took him to turned out to be another wrong St. Sulpice. So did several other next choices. Finally some officer looked up the matter, and found that sixty-seven of the ninety-two "departments" in France contained a town called St. Sulpice. It was hopeless to investigate each of them in turn, (the mails and telegraphs were hopeless;) moreover, a month had passed and it was certain that Jones's outfit had moved on to somewhere else. So the officer sent him to Bourges, where the central records office of the A. E. F. was situated.

Bourges ought to have placed him right. No doubt Bourges tried. But its records were not up to date. Of course they were supposed to be, but, as a matter of fact, they were not. No records ever were up to date anywhere at any time in the war. In the very nature of things they could not be. So John Jones went wrong again and again and again.

He never did get right. I saw him

eleven months after he landed at Brest, and he was still ostensibly seeking his outfit. Actually he had become a tramp, utterly worthless and utterly hopeless. Consider! For eleven long months this boy of 21 had wandered, shunted from outfit to outfit, living "on the country," with never a cent of pay. When he found American troops he was fed—and sent on. Again and again he was picked up by M. P.s, (military police,) questioned—and sent somewhere. At first he tried to go as ordered, later he simply went. I took him to the nearest Provost Marshal, who, on his own responsibility, sent him as a "replacement" to the nearest company. Here he was given food and quarters with the other men, but no pay. What became of him ultimately I do not know; perhaps he made good, but the chances were all against him, for he was worn out, hopeless, and indifferent. He had been ruined by no fault of his own.

The point of this story is that it is typical. Literally thousands of men and officers had similar experiences, varying in details, but all tending to the same conclusion. Some were patients trying to get back from hospitals, some were messengers, some were truckmen, and some were men who had fallen out on a march. Some luckier or more intelligent than the rest found their outfits; others were picked up by some officer who was willing to cut red tape and were assigned to duty, but thousands were ruined as John Jones was ruined.

Ultimately conditions got so bad that the plan of returning hospital cases to their old outfits was abandoned, and they were sent to permanent replacement camps, whence they were forwarded in squads to any regiment that called for them. This tended to destroy regimental and divisional pride, and for a time was resented by the men, but the necessities of the case were too plain to be ignored. Men assigned to new outfits were put on the rolls, retained their honorable standing, and got (or were supposed to get) pay and allowances. Men wandering about the country or taken on irregularly by chance organizations got nothing—and they stood on the rolls of their

old organizations as absent without leave, as deserted, or as dead. Even today many are lost, and all will find almost endless red tape confronting them when they try to clear their names and re-

establish their standing. For, of course, it must not be forgotten that many were willfully absent—and that it is still difficult to separate the sheep from the goats.

## Total Cost of the War 337 Billions

**A**CCORDING to a volume prepared by Ernest L. Bogert, Professor of Economics, under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for Internal Peace, all the wars of the nineteenth century from the Napoleonic down to the Balkan wars of 1912-13, show a loss of life of 4,449,300, while the known and presumed dead of the world war reached 9,998,771. The monetary value of the individuals lost to each country is estimated, the highest value on human life being given to the United States, where each individual's economic worth is placed at \$4,720, with England next at \$4,140; Germany third, at \$3,380; France and Belgium, each \$2,900; Austria-Hungary at \$2,720, and Russia, Italy, Serbia, Greece, and the other countries at \$2,020.

With a loss of more than 4,000,000, the estimate puts Russia in the lead in human economic loss, the total being more than \$8,000,000,000; Germany is next with \$6,750,000,000; France, \$4,800,000,000; England, \$3,500,000,000; Austria-Hungary, \$3,000,000,000; Italy, \$2,384,000,000; Serbia, \$1,500,000,000; Turkey, almost \$1,000,000,000; Rumania, \$800,000,000; Belgium, almost \$800,000,000; the United States slightly more than \$500,000,000; Bulgaria, a little more than \$200,000,000; Greece, \$75,000,000; Portugal, \$8,300,000, and Japan, \$600,000. On this basis the total in human life lost cost the world \$33,551,276,280, and the loss to the world in civilian population is placed at an equal figure.

The total property loss on land is put at \$29,960,000,000, one-third of which was suffered by France alone, its loss being given as \$10,000,000,000, with Belgium next at \$7,000,000,000, with the other countries following in this order: Italy, \$2,710,000,000; Serbia, Albania and Montenegro, \$2,000,000,000; the British

Empire and Germany, each \$1,750,000,000; Poland, \$1,500,000,000; Russia, \$1,250,000,000; Rumania, \$1,000,000,000, and East Prussia, Austria, and Ukraine together, the same amount.

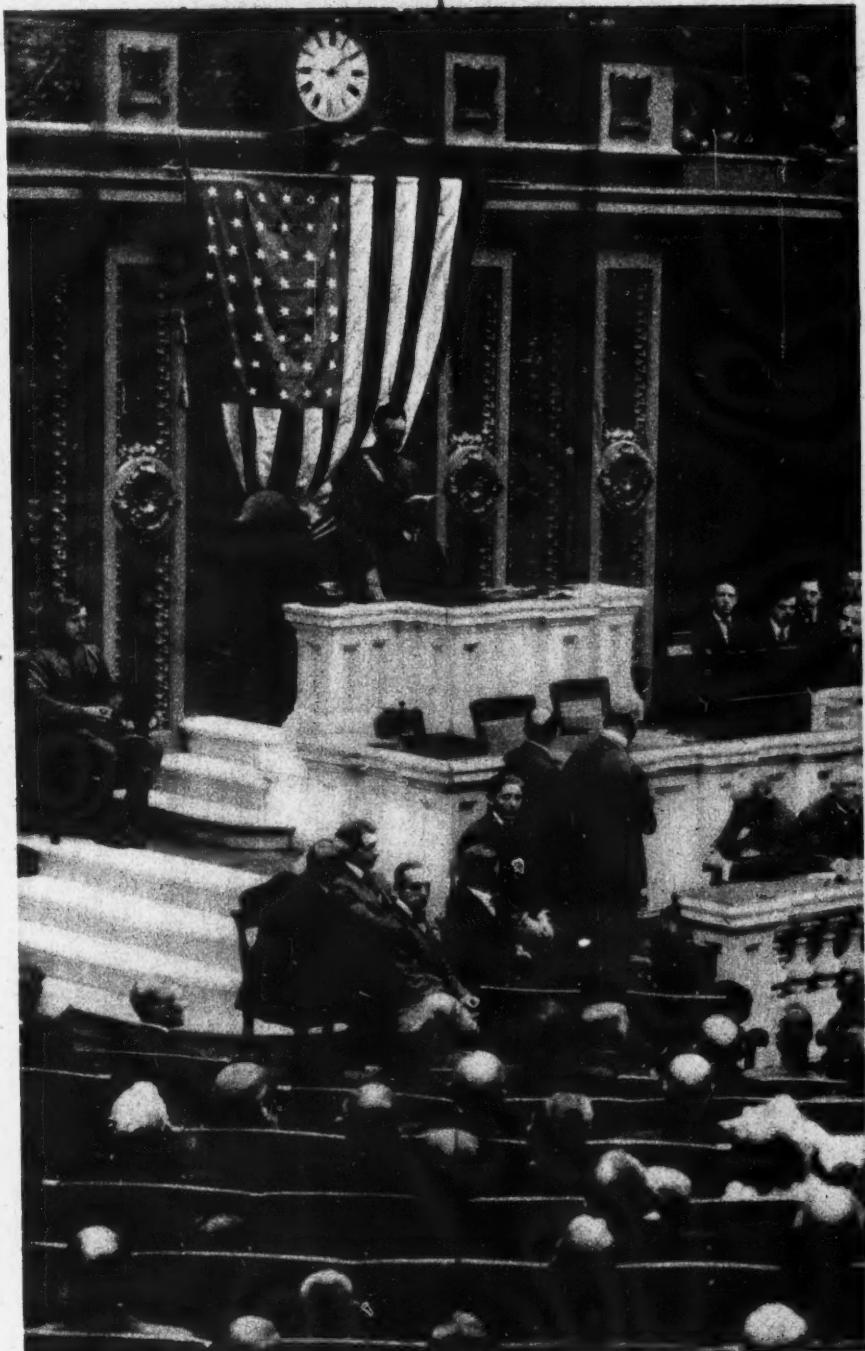
In the property losses on sea, that is, to shipping and cargo, the report estimates that "the construction cost of the tonnage loss can scarcely be estimated at less than \$200 a ton, and the monetary loss involved in the sinking of this 15,398,392 gross tons may, therefore, be placed at about \$3,000,000,000." To this is added loss of cargo, which is estimated at \$250 a ton, giving a cargo loss of \$3,800,000,000, and a total tonnage and cargo loss of \$6,800,000,000.

Among the indirect costs of the war, loss of production is placed at \$45,000,000,000. In arriving at this figure an average of 20,000,000 men are counted as having been withdrawn from production during the whole period of the war, and their average yearly productive capacity is placed at \$500. War relief is another indirect cost which totaled up to \$1,000,000,000; and the loss to the neutral nations is given as \$1,750,000,000.

With the total direct costs of the war amounting to \$186,336,637,097 and the indirect costs to \$151,612,542,560, the stupendous total of \$337,946,179,657 is reached. Finally the report says:

The figures presented in this summary are both incomprehensible and appalling, yet even these do not take into account the effect of the war on life, human vitality, economic wellbeing, ethics, morality, or other phases of human relationships and activities which have been disorganized and injured. It is evident from the present disturbances in Europe that the real costs of the war cannot be measured by the direct money outlays of the belligerents during the five years of its duration, but that the very breakdown of modern economic society might be the price exacted.

## KING ALBERT ADDRESSING CONGRESS



The King of the Belgians, first reigning sovereign to visit America,  
addressing the United States Senate, Oct. 28, 1919

(C) Underwood & Underwood

PRINCE CASIMIR LUBOMIRSKI



First Minister to the United States from the new Republic of Poland,  
who arrived Oct. 28, 1919  
(© Jean de Strelczi, New York)

BARON ROMANO AVEZZANA



New Italian Ambassador to the United States, succeeding Count  
Macchi di Cellere, who died Oct. 20, 1919  
*(Bain News Service)*

FORMER KAISER'S LATEST PORTRAIT



Wilhelm II., bearded and older looking, as photographed from a hay wagon overlooking the garden wall at Amerongen

(C New York Times Wide World Photos)

FIELD MARSHAL MACKENSEN AS A PRISONER



The German commander (wearing war crosses) arriving as a prisoner  
at Saloniki, Sept. 10, 1919, escorted by French officers and gendarmes

(C) L'Illustration, Paris

OPPOSING LEADERS IN CONFERENCE ON THE GREAT COAL STRIKE



Left to right: T. T. Brewster, President of the Coal Operators' Association; William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor; John L. Lewis, Acting President of the United Mine Workers of America. The two opposing leaders had been called together in an attempt to avert the strike  
(© International)

## PUBLIC DEFENDERS IN COAL STRIKE



A. MITCHELL PALMER  
Attorney General  
(© Harris & Ewing)



FRANCIS P. GARVAN  
Assistant Attorney General  
(© Harris & Ewing)



JUDGE ALBERT ANDERSON  
Who issued the injunction  
(Bain News Service)

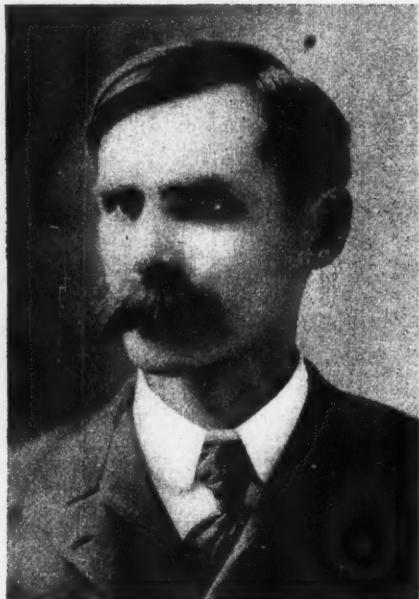


DR. HARRY A. GARFIELD  
Fuel Administrator  
(Photo Brown Bros.)

## LEADERS IN PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT



DANIEL C. ROPER  
Commissioner of Internal Revenue  
(© Harris & Ewing)



CONGRESSMAN A.J.VOLSTEAD  
Author of "dry" enforcement law  
(© International)

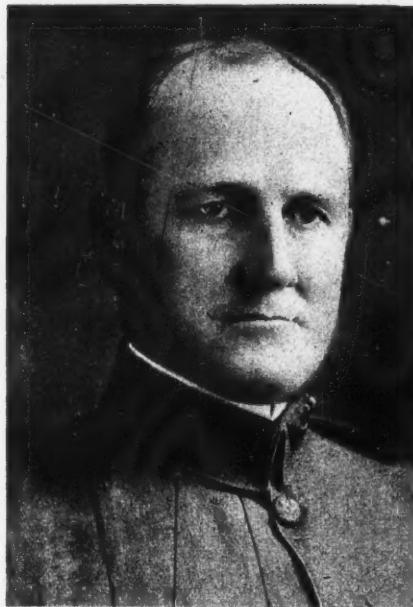


CARTER T. GLASS  
Secretary of the Treasury  
(© Underwood & Underwood)



COLONEL DANIEL L. PORTER  
Internal Revenue head, New York  
(© International)

## FIGURES IN PEACE CONFERENCE MISSIONS



MAJOR GEN. J. G. HARBORD  
Sent to investigate conditions in  
Armenia

(© Harris & Ewing)



REAR ADMIRAL M. L. BRISTOL  
Who warned Turks to cease  
massacres

(© Clinchedinst)



HENRY MORGENTHAU  
Head of commission sent to Poland

(© Underwood & Underwood)



BRIG. GEN. EDGAR JADWIN  
With Morgenthau Mission

(© Clinchedinst)

## GROUP OF KOLCHAK'S PRISONERS



Bolshevist prisoners gathered in by Admiral Kolchak's forces during  
the fighting near Ufa

(© Underwood & Underwood)



VICE ADMIRAL KOLCHAK  
Anti-Bolshevist leader and head of  
Omsk Government  
(© Press Illustrating Service)



GENERAL DENIKIN  
Leader of patriot forces in South  
Russia, threatening Moscow

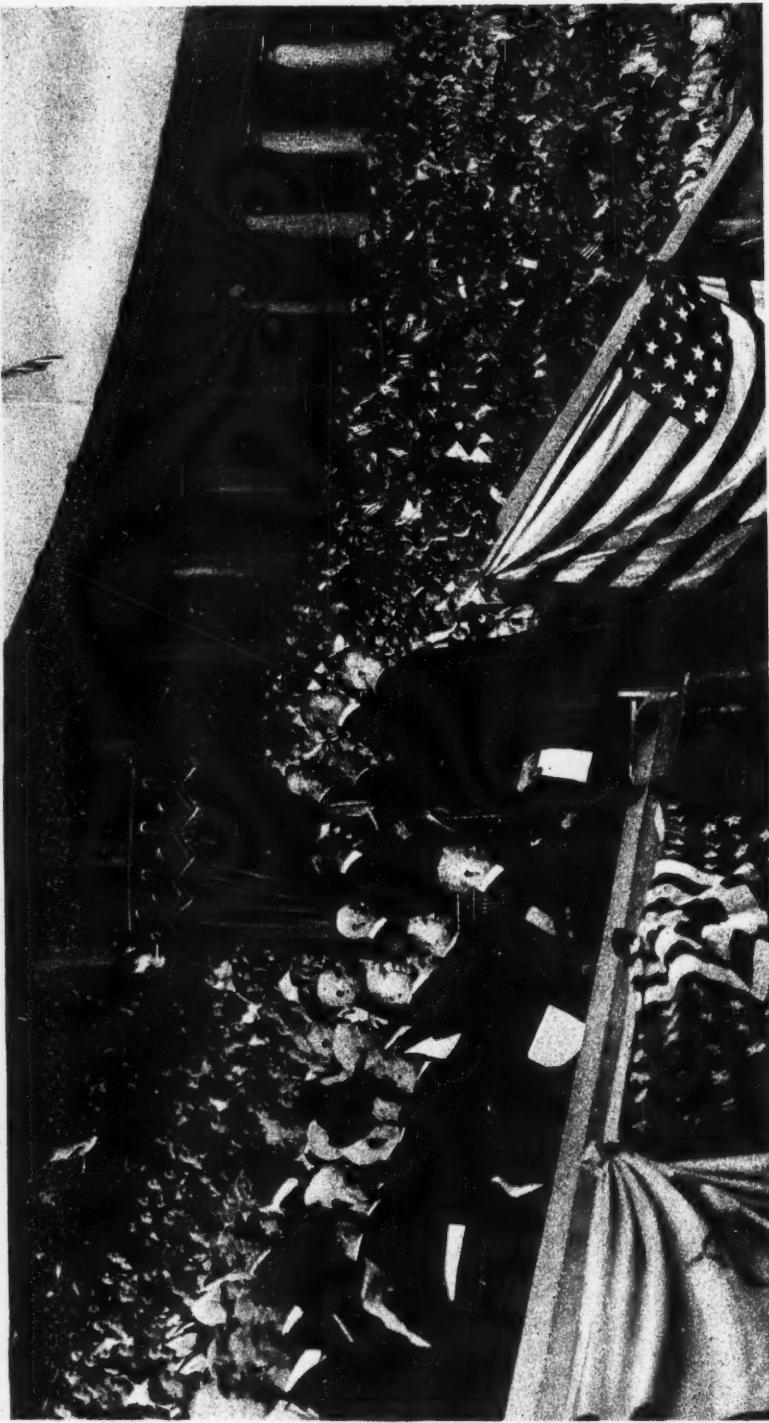
GENERAL NICOLAI YUDENITCH



Commander of the Russian anti-Bolshevist Army, who, with Kolchak and Denikin, attempted to close in upon the Red strongholds

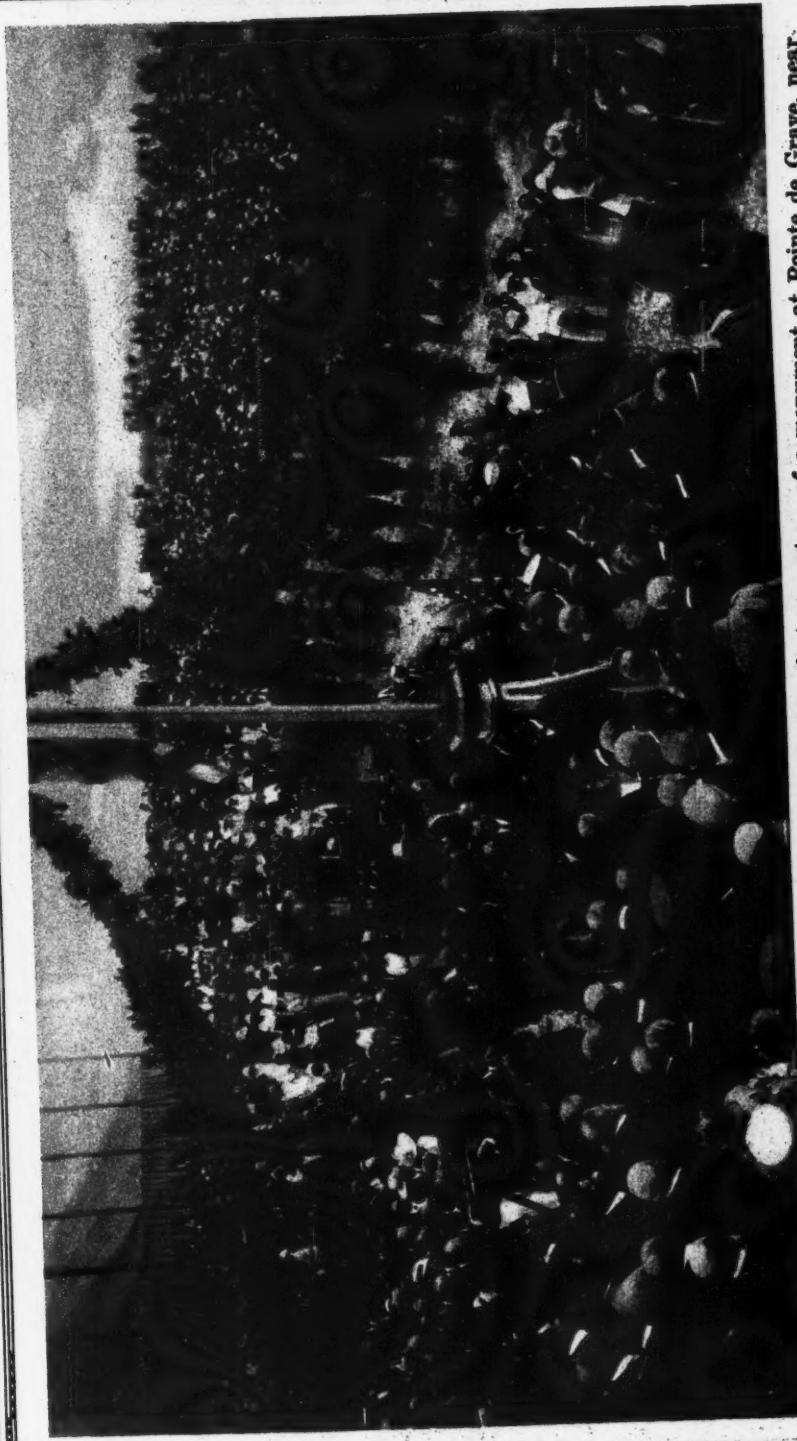
(© Press Illustrating Service)

CARDINAL MERCIER ACCLAIMED BY 25,000 NEW YORK SCHOOL CHILDREN



'The Belgian primate is seen standing under the canopy at the City College Stadium while the children sing "The Star-Spangled Banner." Near him are A. S. Prall, President of the Board of Education; Archbishop Hayes, the Rev. Frank M. North, and others  
(Times Wide World Photos)

COMMEMORATING THE LANDING OF FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE



President Poincaré (in front of post, facing toward it) laying the cornerstone of a monument at Pointe de Grave, near Bordeaux, where the first American troops landed to fight for France. American soldiers, as guests, are in the background standing at attention  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO AND HIS SOLDIERS AT FIUME



The Italian poet-soldier, whose seizure of Fiume with an Italian military force placed his own Government in a serious predicament, is here seen reviewing a squad of his troops  
© International

KING PETER OF SERBIA, RETREATING IN 1915 BEFORE INVADING ARMIES

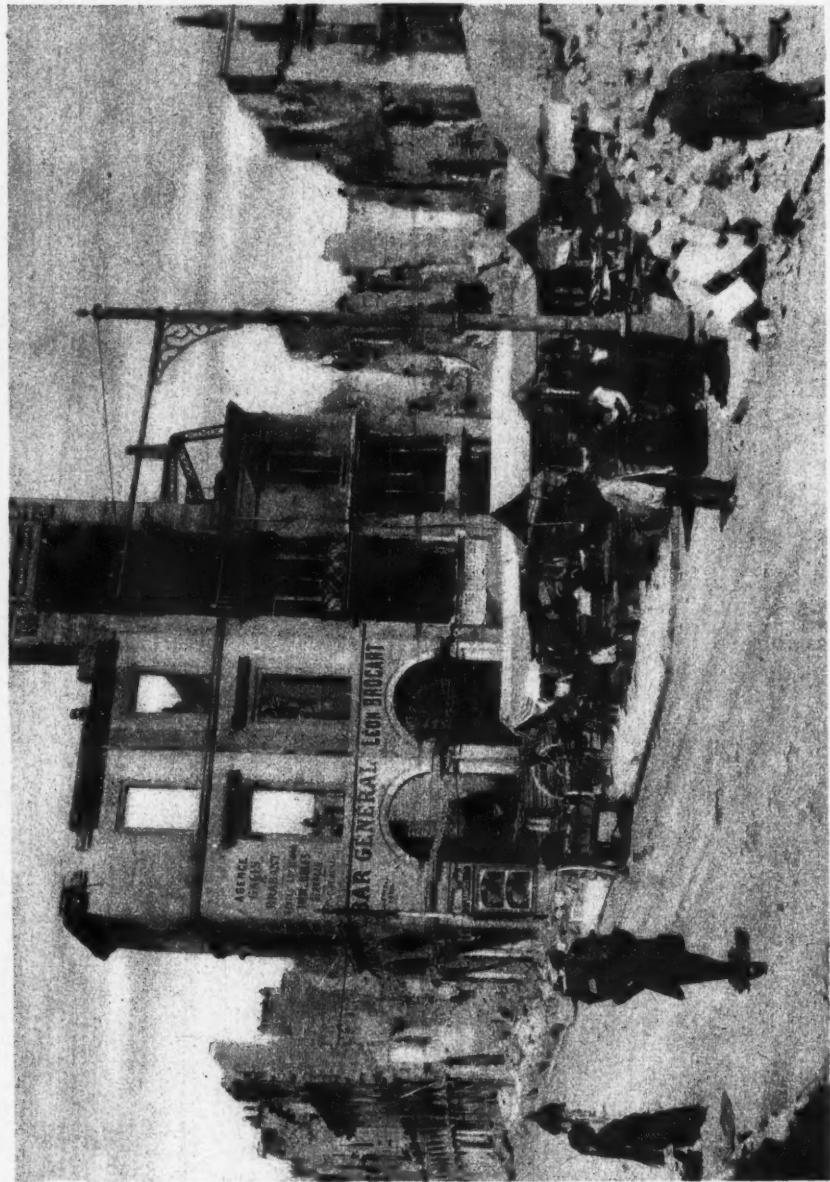


This historic scene, marking the lowest ebb of Serbia's fortunes, gains new interest with King Peter's return to Belgrade after four years of exile. The small portrait shows him as he is today, with a beard, a sign of mourning  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

RESUMING  
BUSINESS  
AMID  
THE RUINS  
OF  
RHEIMS

Housewives  
of the  
martyred  
French city  
making  
their morning  
purchases at  
the City  
Market  
opened under  
canvas  
amid  
scenes  
of desolation

(© International)



# Origin of the World War

## Official Minutes of the Austro-Hungarian Council That Decided to Force War on Serbia

THE publication in Vienna of a so-called Austrian Red Book, based on materials found in the archives of the old Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office and written by a publicist named Dr. Roderich Gooss, with the approval of the present Austrian Government, created a sensation in Central Europe during the latter part of September, 1919. The book, entitled "The Vienna Cabinet and the Origin of the World War," showed that at a Ministerial Council held in Vienna on July 7, 1914, the political leaders of Austria-Hungary had deliberately decided to force war upon Serbia by means of an ultimatum in regard to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo. After a thorough discussion the Ministers determined to shape the demands upon Serbia in such a way that they would cause a war, in which Serbian territory could be seized, yet the terms were not to be so drastic as to make the purpose apparent to the world.

The most important document in the Red Book is the official report of the meeting just referred to. This record, containing a summary of each Minister's remarks, shows that Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, had been assured from Berlin that Kaiser Wilhelm and Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg stood ready to support Germany's ally, no matter what the demands upon Serbia might be. In other words, it furnishes official evidence that Austria-Hungary first obtained Germany's consent and backing before provoking war. The minutes also reveal the fact that Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, was the only member present who seemed to fear the European war which would almost certainly result from the attempt to make Serbia a dependency of Austria.

Following is the full text of the minutes of that historic meeting, as re-

printed from the Red Book by the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung and translated from the German for CURRENT HISTORY:

*Report of the Ministerial Council held in Vienna on July 7, 1914, over joint affairs, under the Presidency of Count Berchtold, Minister of the Imperial Royal House and of Foreign Affairs.*

*Present: Count Stuerckh, Imperial-Royal Premier; Count Tisza, Royal Hungarian Premier; Dr. von Bielinski, Imperial and Royal Joint Minister of Finance; Ordnance General von Krobatin, Imperial and Royal Minister of War; General Baron von Conrad, Imperial and Royal Chief of the General Staff, and Rear Admiral von Koller, representing the Imperial and Royal Naval Command. Recording Secretary, Legation Councillor Count Hoyos. Subject: Bosnian affairs, the diplomatic action against Serbia.*

The Chairman opened the session by remarking that the Ministerial Council had been called for the purpose of discussing the measures to be taken to remedy the evil internal conditions that had become apparent in Bosnia and Herzegovina in connection with the catastrophe of Serajevo. In his opinion there were various internal measures, the application of which to Bosnia seemed to him to be in order against the critical situation, but, first of all, clarity should be reached on the question whether the time had not come to make Serbia harmless once for all through an expression of force.

Such a decisive blow could not be struck without diplomatic preparations, so he had got in touch with the German Government. The discussions in Berlin had led to a very satisfactory result, as Kaiser Wilhelm, as well as Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, had most emphatically assured us of the unconditional support of Germany in case of a warlike complication with Serbia. Now we must still reckon with Italy and Rumania, and here he was in accord with the Berlin Cabinet in the opinion that it would be better to act and then await any possible demands for compensation.

It was plain to him that a passage at arms with Serbia could lead to a war with Russia. But at present Russia was following a policy that, taking a farsighted view, was aiming at a combination of the Balkan States, including Rumania, for the purpose of using them against the monarchy when the time seemed opportune. He was of the opinion that we must take into account the fact that our situation, as opposed by such a policy, was bound to become worse, es-

pecially as passive toleration would be sure to be construed by our South Slavs and Rumanians as a sign of weakness and would lend force to the drawing power of the two border States.

The logical conclusion to be drawn from all this would be to get ahead of our opponents and, through a timely settlement with Serbia, put a stop to the process of development already in full swing, something that might not be possible later.

#### COUNT TISZA'S ATTITUDE

The Royal Hungarian Premier agreed that the situation had changed during the last few days because of the facts established by the investigation, and because of the attitude of the Serbian press, and he emphasized the fact that he, too, considered the possibility of warlike action against Serbia closer at hand than he had believed immediately after the Serajevo attempt. He would never agree, however, to a surprise attack upon Serbia without preliminary diplomatic action, as seemed to be the intention, and as, unfortunately, had been discussed in Berlin through Count Hoyos, because it was his view that in such a case we would occupy a very bad position in the eyes of Europe and would very probably have to reckon with the hostility of all the Balkan States, except Bulgaria, which at present was greatly weakened and could not support us to the proper extent.

We ought first to formulate unconditional demands upon Serbia and only present an ultimatum if Serbia did not yield to them. These demands must be hard, indeed, but not impossible of fulfillment. If Serbia accepted them we would be able to show a striking diplomatic success and our prestige in the Balkans would rise. But if our demands were not accepted he, too, would be for military action, but he must emphasize beforehand that with such action we must aim at the diminution of Serbia's power but not at her complete destruction, because on the one hand Russia would never allow that without a life-and-death struggle, and on the other because he, as Premier of Hungary, would never be able to agree to the annexation of a part of Serbia by the [Austrian] monarchy.

It was not Germany's affair to determine if we should now strike Serbia or not. He personally was of the opinion that it was not unconditionally necessary at the present moment to make war. At present we must take into account the fact that there was a very strong agitation against us in Rumania; that, in view of the excited state of public opinion, we would have to reckon with a Rumanian attack, and that at all events we would have to keep a good-sized force in Transylvania in order to intimidate the Rumanians. Now that Germany has happily cleared the way for the adhesion of Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance, there is opened to us a very promising field for suc-

cessful diplomatic action in the Balkans by uniting Bulgaria and Turkey and attaching them to the Triple Alliance, thus creating a counterbalance against Serbia and Rumania, and then being able to force Rumania to return to the Triple Alliance. Upon the European field it must be taken into consideration that the relation of strength between France and Germany would steadily become worse for the former, because of its low birth rate, and that in the future Germany would constantly have more troops available against Russia.

These were all considerations that must be weighed in the case of such an important decision as was to be arrived at today, and therefore he must again point out that he would not unconditionally decide for war, in spite of the crisis in Bosnia, which, furthermore, could be remedied by an energetic reform in administration; he believed, rather, that a proper diplomatic victory—one which would include a severe humbling of Serbia—would be better adapted to improve our position and to make possible a profitable Balkan policy.

#### BERCHTOLD FOR ACTION

The Chairman [Berchtold] remarked in answer to this that the history of recent years had shown that diplomatic victories over Serbia had, it was true, temporarily raised the prestige of the monarchy, but that the tension actually existing in our relations with Serbia had merely become greater. Neither our success in the annexation crisis nor the one connected with the creation of Albania, nor the subsequent yielding of Serbia in consequence of our ultimatum in the Fall of the preceding year, had changed anything in the actual conditions. A radical solution of the problem created by the Greater Serbia propaganda systematically carried on from Belgrade, the disintegrating effects of which upon us are noticed as far as Agram and Zara, was only possible through an energetic intervention.

Regarding the danger of a hostile attitude by Rumania mentioned by the Royal Hungarian Premier, the Chairman remarked that at present this was less to be feared than in the future, when the joint interests of Rumania and Serbia would constantly increase. Of course King Carol had occasionally expressed doubts as to his ability to fulfill his duty as an ally toward the monarchy by active military service in case it became necessary. On the other hand it was hardly to be assumed that he would allow himself to be induced to take military action against the monarchy or be unable to withstand any public sentiment for such action. For the rest there must be considered Rumania's fear of Bulgaria, which would be bound to somewhat restrain the former's freedom of movement even under the present circumstances.

So far as the Hungarian Premier's remarks regarding the comparative strength of France

and Germany were concerned, he [Berchtold] believed it necessary to point out that the diminishing increase in population of France was offset by the disproportionately higher increase in the population of Russia, so that the assertion that Germany would in the future have more troops available against France hardly appeared to hold good.

### PREMIER STUERGKH FOR WAR

The Imperial Royal Premier [Stuerghk] remarked that today's council of Ministers had really been called for the purpose of discussing the internal measures to be used in Bosnia and Herzegovina that would be calculated on the one side to make the present investigation, begun on account of the attempt, a success, and on the other to counteract the Greater Serbian movement in Bosnia. Now these questions must give place to the main question of whether we ought to settle the internal crisis in Bosnia by an expression of force against Serbia.

This main question had now become timely after two months, first of all because the commander of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the basis of his observations and his acquaintance with Bosnian conditions, proceeded on the hypothesis that no internal measures could be successful unless we decided to strike a powerful blow at Serbia on the outside. On the base of these observations of General Potiorek we must consider the question as to whether the schismatic activity proceeding from Serbia could be stopped, and whether we could even retain the two provinces if we did not proceed against the kingdom.

During the last few days the entire situation had taken on a different aspect, and there had now been created a psychological situation, which, in his opinion, was unconditionally forcing us into a war with Serbia. He agreed, indeed, with the Royal Hungarian Premier that we, and not the German Government, must decide if a war was necessary or not; but he must still remark that it was bound to exercise a very great influence upon our decision when, as we had heard, we had been assured of unconditional loyalty by the ally which we must regard as the most faithful supporter of our policy in the Triple Alliance and, furthermore, had been urged to act at once, after we had made inquiries there. Count Tisza certainly ought to attach importance to this circumstance and remember that we, through a policy of hesitation and weakness, ran the risk of no longer being so sure of this unconditional support of the German Empire at a later period. This was the second matter of weight to be considered in reaching our decision, along with the interest in restoring orderly conditions in Bosnia.

How the conflict was to be begun was a matter of detail, and if the Hungarian Government was of the opinion that a surprise attack *sous crier gare*, as Count Tisza had said, was not practical, then another way

must be found: nevertheless, he urgently desired that, whatever might happen, quick action be taken and our national economic life be spared a long period of unrest. All these things were details alongside of the principal question as to whether it was to come unconditionally to warlike action or not, and there the interest in the prestige and the existence of the monarchy, whose South Slavic provinces he would consider lost if nothing happened, was decisive above all else.

Therefore, today it should be decided in principle that it should and will come to action. He, too, shared the opinion of the Chairman that the situation would not be bettered at all by a diplomatic victory. If, consequently, the road of preliminary diplomatic action were to be taken because of international reasons, this must be done with the firm intention that this action dare only end in a war.

### DECISIVE STRUGGLE NECESSARY

The Joint Finance Minister [Bilinski] observed that Count Stuerghk had referred to the fact that the commander of the provinces wanted war. General Potiorek for two years had occupied the standpoint that we would have to undergo a trial of strength with Serbia in order to retain Bosnia and Herzegovina. We ought not to forget that the provincial commander, being on the spot, was the best judge of matters. Mr. Bilinski also entertained the conviction that the decisive struggle was unavoidable sooner or later. He had never doubted that Germany would stand by us in a grave case, and already in November, 1912, he had received the most positive assurances from Mr. von Tschirschky [German Ambassador at Vienna] along that line. The recent events in Bosnia had produced a very dangerous sentiment among the Serbian population, particularly because the Serbian pogrom in Sarajevo had made all the Serbs very excited and embittered, and consequently one could no longer decide who among the Serbs was still loyal and who was for Greater Serbia. In the country itself this condition could never be remedied; the only way to accomplish that was by a definite decision as to whether the Greater Serbia idea had a future or not.

Although the Royal Hungarian Premier would now be content with a diplomatic victory, he [Bilinski] could not be so from the standpoint of the Bosnian interests. The ultimatum that we sent to Serbia last Fall had aggravated the sentiment in Bosnia and merely increased the feeling of hatred for us. It was a current topic among all the people there that King Peter would come and free the people. The Serb only understands force; a diplomatic victory would make no impression in Bosnia, and would be more likely to do harm than good.

The Royal Hungarian Premier asserted that he, indeed, had the highest opinion of the present provincial commander as a military

man; but so far as the civil administration was concerned it could not be denied that it had completely failed, and that it must be reformed unconditionally. He [Tisza] did not want to go into details about this now, especially as it was not the proper time to undertake great changes; he must point out, however, that the most indescribable condition must prevail among the police in order to have made it possible for six or seven characters known to the police to place themselves on the day of the attempt along the route of the murdered heir apparent, armed with bombs and revolvers, without a single one of them being noticed by the police and removed. He could not understand why the conditions in Bosnia could not be essentially bettered through a thorough reform.

#### KROBATHIN FOR ATTACK

The Imperial and Royal Minister of War [Krobatin] was of the opinion that a diplomatic success was of no value. Such a success would only be interpreted as weakness. From a military standpoint he must emphasize the fact that it would be more advantageous to carry on war at once than at a later time, as in the future the comparative conditions of strength would be disproportionately shifted to our disadvantage. So far as the forms of beginning the war were concerned, he must stress the fact that the two great wars of the last few years, the Russo-Japanese and the Balkan wars, had been begun without preliminary declarations of war. It was his opinion that at first only the mobilization provided for against Serbia should be carried out, and that general mobilization should be delayed until it could be seen if Russia was going to move.

We had already let pass two opportunities to settle the Serbian question, and each time postponed the decision. If we were to do the same thing now and fail to react to this recent provocation it would be regarded in all the South Slav provinces as a sign of weakness, and we should be strengthening the agitation against us.

From a military standpoint it would be desirable if the mobilization were put into effect at once and with as much secrecy as possible, and an ultimatum were only sent to Serbia after mobilization had been accomplished. This would be an advantageous action in connection with the Russian military forces, also, as just now the ranks of the Russian frontier corps were not at full strength because of the harvest furloughs.

At this point there ensued a lengthy discussion over the objects of a warlike action against Serbia, in connection with which the view of the Royal Hungarian Premier that Serbia must, indeed, be reduced in size, but not entirely destroyed, was accepted. The Imperial Royal Premier insisted that it would be a good idea also to remove the Kara-georgevich dynasty and give the crown to a

European Prince, as well as to bring about a certain relation of dependency by the diminished kingdom upon the monarchy in a military way.

#### EUROPEAN WAR FORESEEN

The Royal Hungarian Premier [Tisza] was still of the opinion that a successful Balkan policy for the monarchy could be effected through the adhesion of Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance, and he pointed out the fearful calamities of a European war under the present conditions. It must not be overlooked that all sorts of future eventualities were imaginable—such as the sidetracking of Russia through Asiatic complications, a war of revenge upon Serbia by a revived Bulgaria, &c.—which might make our position in regard to the Greater Serbia problem materially more favorable than was the case at present.

In this connection the Chairman [Berchtold] remarked that, of course, one could imagine various future eventualities that would make the situation favorable for us. He, however, feared that there was no time for such a development. One must reckon with the fact that from a hostile side a decisive struggle against the monarchy was being prepared and that Rumania was assisting French and Russian diplomacy. It dared not be assumed that the policy with Bulgaria could offer us a complete substitute for the loss of Rumania. But, in his opinion, Rumania was not to be won again so long as the Greater Serbia agitation existed, for this also entailed the Greater Rumania agitation, and Rumania could only proceed against this latter if it were to feel itself isolated in the Balkans by the destruction of Serbia and were to understand that it could only find support in the Triple Alliance.

Besides, one must not overlook the fact that not the first step had yet been taken toward the adhesion of Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance. We only knew that the present Bulgarian Government had expressed this wish some months ago and at that time had also been about to enter into an alliance with Turkey. Thus far the latter had not occurred, and Turkey since then had fallen rather more under French and Russian influence. Of course, the attitude of the Radoslavoff Ministry afforded no reason to doubt that it was still resolved to lend a willing ear to positive proposals that might be made by us in Sofia along the line indicated. But at present this position could not yet be regarded as a firm foundation for our Balkan policy, especially as the present Bulgarian Government rested upon a very shaky base, and, as the adhesion to the Triple Alliance might be disavowed by public opinion, always to a certain degree under Russian influence, and the Radoslavoff Ministry be turned out. It must also be remembered that Germany had only previously approved the proposed deal with Bulgaria on condition that it was not to be aimed against Rumania. It

would not be easy entirely to fulfill this condition and uncertain situations might develop from it in the future.

### RESULTS OF THE SESSION

Thereupon, the question of war was discussed thoroughly in a rather lengthy debate. At the conclusion of these discussions it could be stated:

1. That all those present desired the quickest possible decision of the controversy with Serbia, either in a warlike or a peaceful sense.

2. That the Council of Ministers was ready to accept the view of the Royal Hungarian Premier, according to which mobilization is to be effected only after concrete demands have been presented to Serbia and after these have been rejected and an ultimatum served.

On the other hand, all those present, with the exception of the Royal Hungarian Premier, were of the opinion that a purely diplomatic victory, even if it ended with a striking humiliation of Serbia, would be worthless, and that, consequently, such far-reaching demands must be presented to Serbia as to make their rejection foreseen, so that the way to a radical solution through a military attack would be prepared.

Count Tisza observed that he was anxious to meet the views of all those present, and consequently he would also make a concession by admitting that the demands to be sent to Serbia should be very hard, but nevertheless *not of such a kind as to expose our intention of making unacceptable demands*. Otherwise we would have an impossible legal ground for a declaration of war. The text of the note must be studied very closely, and in any case he would like to see the note before it was sent. He must also emphasize the fact that he, for his part, would be obliged to draw the proper conclusions if his views were not considered. At this point the session was broken off until the afternoon.

### THE AFTERNOON SESSION

When the meeting of the Ministerial Council was reopened the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the naval command were also present. At the request of the Chairman the Minister of War addressed the following questions to the Chief of the General Staff:

1. Whether it were possible first to mobilize against Serbia, and only subsequently against Russia also, if it became necessary.

2. Whether large bodies of troops could be retained in Transylvania for the purpose of intimidating Rumania.

3. Where would the struggle against Russia be begun?

In response to these questions the Chief of the General Staff gave secret explanations and consequently asked that these answers be not included in the record. On the basis of these answers there developed a long debate over the prevailing conditions of strength

and the probable course of a European war; this, because of its secret character, was not adapted for putting down in this report.

At the conclusion of this debate the Royal Hungarian Premier repeated his view regarding the question of war and directed another appeal to those present to examine their decision very carefully. Thereupon were discussed the points which could be embodied in the note as demands upon Serbia. In regard to these points no definite decision was made in the Ministerial Council; they were merely taken up in order to arrive at an idea of what demands could be made.

Then the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the naval command left the Ministerial Council, which occupied itself with the internal situation in Bosnia and the measures to be taken there. In this connection the joint Finance Minister declared that he had become convinced through conferences during the last few days with party leaders that a dissolution of the Landtag would not be advisable, because it would be linked with political losses. At present there could be no sessions held because of the universal agitation of tempers, and therefore he was for adjourning the Landtag and only calling it together for a short session in September. He hoped that it then would be possible to have the budget and the Kmeten [?] bill passed. This depended first of all upon the retention by Dimovich of the party leadership of the pro-Government Serbs—which he hoped would be the case—thus making possible the maintenance of the present Government majority. With the closing of the Landtag the salaries and the right of immunity came to an end, so that the wishes of the provincial commander and of the Minister of War in this regard would be met even if he did not dissolve the Landtag. Mr. von Billinski then discussed a number of other measures that he considered timely, among them the dissolution of the Great Serbia Association.

The Royal Hungarian Premier did not want to propose any great changes at present. He again directed attention to the condition of the police at Serajevo and declared that the disintegration of the administrative machine in Bosnia was the direct result of the preponderant position occupied for years by the provincial commander, who, as a military man, could not possibly possess the experience in administrative affairs necessary for a good administration.

The joint Finance Minister defended the provincial commander as an administrator, but admitted that it would be desirable to have the civil administration entirely separated from the military administration and have a civil Governor appointed alongside of the army inspector, as was the case in Dalmatia.

Then upon the proposal of the Imperial and Royal Minister of War there were immediately discussed special measures which were to be applied to Bosnia.

In this discussion it became clear that it

was the consensus of all present that some of the proposals of General Krobatin were to be accepted, while others went too far, but that in general it was not possible to lay down a definite program for internal administration before the main question—as to whether war was to be waged upon Serbia—had been decided.

The Chairman [Berchtold] pointed out that even though there existed a difference of opinion between Count Tisza and all the others present, they had got closer together; in all probability the proposals of the Royal Hungarian Premier would also lead to the military settlement with Serbia thought necessary by himself and the other members of the conference.

Count Berchtold informed the Minister that he intended to go to Ischl on the 8th inst., to present a report to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty. Count Tisza asked the Chairman also to present a most respectful report that he was to make of his view of the situation. After a communiqué for the press had been prepared, the Chairman ended the session. \* \* \*

#### BERCHTOLD.

Secretary, A. HOYOS.

*I have taken note of the contents of this note, Aug. 16, 1914.* FRANZ JOSEF.

The text of the communiqué to the press referred to is given as follows by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

The joint Ministerial Council today was called for the purpose of occupying itself with the ordering of measures which are to be applied to the internal administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time the Ministerial Council took this opportunity to discuss in advance in a general way the joint budget for next year, for which purpose the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the naval command were called in to explain some technical questions.

An authentic account—evidently official—of the equally secret council of July 19, 1914, was printed in another Vienna paper, the *Morgen*. At that session the resolutions providing for the sending of practically impossible demands to Serbia were passed unanimously. The record is as follows:

Count Berchtold opened the deliberations by announcing that a diplomatic note would be sent to Serbia on the following Thursday, July 23. The Minister of Foreign Affairs hoped that this step would remain unknown until after President Poincaré's departure from St. Petersburg, and that in any case the "considerations of courtesy" would be complied with, since the moment of his departure would have been waited for. For diplomatic reasons he insisted that there

should be no delay in the action to be undertaken against Serbia, because in Berlin they were becoming intoxicated, and Rome was beginning to discover the intentions of Vienna. The council, therefore, accepted the date proposed. General Conrad de Hoetzendorff, the Chief of Staff, immediately ordered the decreeing of a state of siege in all regions of the monarchy inhabited by Jugoslavs. Chevalier de Krobatin, Minister of War, then presented his report on mobilization. Everything was ready; the order would be submitted to the Emperor for his signature on July 22. Count Stuergh, Austrian Premier, raised the question of the attitude to be taken in case of an Italian expedition to Vallona. Count Stuergh declared such an event improbable, but added that if it should happen Austria-Hungary would take part in it as a matter of form, and would thus extricate itself from embarrassment.

Count Tisza, Hungarian Premier, laid down the condition that there should be no plan of conquest involved in the action against Serbia; the action should be confined to rectifications of frontiers made necessary by strategical considerations. Count Berchtold replied that he could accept this idea only with some reservation, for if, as he conceded, it would be well for Austria-Hungary not to take any territory from Serbia, portions as large as possible should be given to Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. In any case Serbia should be "sufficiently reduced to be no longer dangerous."

Count Stuergh added that if occupation of Serbian territory was excluded, one could at least take guarantees, such as the overthrow of the dynasty or a military convention. The War Minister, having finally declared himself ready to accept the provision that Austria-Hungary should limit itself to rectifications of strategical frontiers and permanent occupation of a bridgehead on the other side of the Save, the council decided unanimously that "from the beginning of the war they should declare to the foreign powers that the monarchy was not waging a war of conquest." Count Berchtold summed up the debate in the remark that the most complete harmony had *happily* (*erfreulicherweise*) been attained on all points by the members of the council.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Paris Temps*, in transmitting this record to his paper, compared Count Berchtold's "happily" with Emile Ollivier's remark that he went into the Franco-Prussian war with a "light heart." Ollivier's "light heart" led to Sedan, and Count Berchtold's "erfreulicherweise" led to the annihilation of the ancient monarchy of the Hapsburgs.

# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Nations, Alphabetically Arranged

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 18, 1919]

### THE BALKANS

A n important indication of commercial revival in the Balkans was announced by the *Progrès* of Athens and confirmed by the papers of Belgrade: The Serbian Government, acting in co-operation with the Greek, will at once begin work on a canal extending from the Danube to Saloniki, thus intercepting much of the traffic from Central Europe, via the Orient Railway to Constantinople, destined for the Eastern Mediterranean. The canal is to begin at the village of Kevevara, at the confluence of the Danube and the Morava. It will follow the course of the Morava in Serbia, then will join the valley of the Vardar near Kaprulu, following this river until in the vicinity of Saloniki. The total length of the canal will be 373 miles. The difference in elevation between Kevevara and the highest point of the canal is about 300 meters. Between this point and Saloniki the difference in elevation is practically the same. It will be necessary to construct sixty-five locks.

The Supreme Council at Paris on Oct. 24 took a leaf from the waiting Hungarian Peace Treaty and made a long step toward settling the Balkan boundaries, not mentioned in the Austrian and Bulgarian treaties, by making a partition of large regions of Hungary between Rumania and the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Jugoslavia). According to this protocol Rumania is to receive Transylvania, containing an area of 120,000 square kilometers (about half the size of New England), rich in minerals and containing the Cities of Oradiamare and Arad on the Maros, but not the full control of the Arad-Satmar railway, as she desired. The Banat is to be divided between Rumania and Serbia, the

frontier being minutely defined in a note communicated to each Government, signed by Dutasta, according to which Serbia will get most of the Comitat of Torontal, with the towns of Nagy-Kinkinda, Becserek, Versec, and Pancsova, with two-thirds of the waterways of the Banat, and Rumania will get the Comittats of Temes and Krasso-Szöreny and the towns of Temesvar and Lugos, and the famous mines and steel works of Resicabanga.

Rumania had asked for both banks of the Maros as far as the Theiss and the City of Bekes-Csaba, and that the Hungarian frontier should be set back fourteen miles west of the railway between Arad and Satmar. The Banat, till lately part of Hungary, is bounded southwest and north by the Rivers Danube, Theiss, and Maros, and on the east by Transylvania. It is one of the most fertile districts in Europe, producing grain, wine, silk, &c., and having an abundance of mostly undeveloped mineral wealth in the shape of salt, gold, silver, iron, lead, copper and coal, and vast forests with valuable fur-bearing animals. Its population is about 3,000,000.

In the capitals of the Balkan States the publication of the terms of the Bulgarian treaty of peace brought all territorial propaganda based on nationalistic grounds to a superlative stage of vehemence. There were no new features, however, except in Athens, where an attack was made upon the alleged growing predilection of the Paris Conference to preserve the political and something of the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire.

**BULGARIA** — The new Ministry formed for the express purpose of signing the Peace Treaty, mentioned in last month's *CURRENT HISTORY*, was completed



A LEAF FROM THE WAITING HUNGARIAN TREATY OF PEACE, SHOWING THE MAGYAR TERRITORY ALLOTTED TO RUMANIA AND JUGOSLAVIA BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL ON OCT. 24, 1919

as follows, with the portfolios of Justice and Public Works to be given to Democrats and that of Finance to a Progressive:

Premier and Minister for War—M. STAMBOULINSKI.  
Public Instruction—M. KAALOFF.  
Railways—M. TORLAKOFF.  
Interior—M. DIMITROFF.  
Agriculture—M. DASKALOFF.  
Foreign Affairs—M. MAGGIAROFF.  
Commerce—M. BUROFF.

The last two named Ministers are Moderate Socialists. The four preceding them are Agrarians. A dispatch from Sofia stated that M. Theodoroff, although not belonging to the Stamboulinski Cabinet, would remain President of the Bulgarian delegation at the Peace Conference.

**RUMANIA**—The eighteen-day Ministerial crisis in Rumania ended with the establishment of a new Cabinet, the principal portfolios being held as follows, together with MM. Inculetz and Ciugureanu of Bessarabia; M. Nistor, Bukovina, and the Voivode of Vajada, M. Goldis,

and M. St. Pop, Transylvania, without portfolios:

Prime Minister and ad interim Foreign Affairs—General VAITOIANU.  
Public Instruction—General LUPESCU.  
Agriculture—General POPOVICI.  
Industry and Trade—General J. POPESCU.  
Public Works—General ST. MIHAIL.  
War—General RASCANU.  
Justice—M. MICLESCU.

During the crisis, M. Take Jonescu and General Averescu, the leaders of the Opposition, declared their readiness to undertake the responsibility of office and guaranteed to solve both the foreign difficulty in agreement with the Paris Conference and the question of the liberty of the elections. M. Bratiano opposing this course, the King declined to accept it. Then M. Maniu, the head of the Rumanian Government in Transylvania, offered his services. This offer was acceptable to Jonescu and Averescu, but not to Bratiano. Then the latter proposed a slate with six Generals on the active list, presided over by a personal

friend who will keep the seat of Foreign Minister warm for him. This was accepted.

The new Government refused to suppress the censorship and the state of siege, so that the ensuing elections, the campaign for which was in full blast on Nov. 15, will still be amenable to the courts-martial in regard to press offenses and speeches. The elections will be a mere formality. The opposition as a body, therefore, declared that they would take no part in them. The seats contested numbered 240. For these there were as many Bratiano Liberal candidates. Other contestants numbered 867.

On Nov. 1 Rumania formally announced to the Peace Conference the annexation of Bessarabia, the status of which was described last month. On Nov. 14, the last Rumanian troops left Budapest.

**THRACE**—In accordance with the terms of the Bulgarian peace treaty, Bulgar troops began to evacuate Western Thrace on Oct. 20, and units of the 9th Greek Division occupied the district of Xanthi (Turkish Eskije), seventy miles northwest of Dedeagatch. From Saloniki came reports of fresh atrocities on the part of the Bulgars on their departure.

The Mussulmans, who occupy that part of Western Thrace left by the peace treaty to Bulgaria, sent a strong protest to the Peace Conference against such decision. They were led by Ismail Hakki Bey, Deputy for Gumuldjina in the Bulgarian Parliament, and claimed a majority of the population in the Rhodope districts of Daridere, Egridere, Sulyanyeri, Pashmakli, and Kirtejali. Ismail closed a long statement covering the protest as follows:

As for the Greeks, we Mussulmans of Thrace feel that we can live with them and in perfect good fellowship, despite the difference of religion. We have more in common with the Greeks than with any hybrid international régime that may be erected in Western or Eastern Thrace, and I am confident that after the upheaval due to the gigantic world struggle has passed Mussulmans and Greeks will settle down everywhere together to a life of peace and co-operation in honest work and of material prosperity.

On Oct. 29 the Greek Delegation at,

Paris gave out for publication an elaborate summary of its reply to the recent Memorandum submitted by the Bulgarian Delegation regarding the policy of Bulgaria and her claims to Thrace. The purport of the first point was a denial with documentary evidence of the Bulgar claim that the country's anti-Allied policy was a matter of ex-King Ferdinand and the Radoslavoff Cabinet and not of the Bulgar people themselves. The Greek document then takes up the question of Thrace as follows:

In the Bulgarian memorandum on Eastern Thrace the authors, in their attempt to prove the predominance of the Bulgarian elements of the population have deemed it sufficient to quote only authorities whose Pan-Slavist tendencies are well known. The Greek reply opposes to these authorities the opinions of such ethnologists of world-wide fame as Ellisée Reclus and others, and also the evidence of Bulgarian statesmen themselves, who have on various occasions admitted that the Bulgarian element in Thrace was in a minority. The Greek reply gives the figures of the populations of Thrace as following: (1) According to the Turkish census of 1894: 304,537 Greeks, 265,369 Moslems, 72,758 Bulgarians; (2) according to the census of 1912, organized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate: 393,515 Greeks, 344,011 Moslems, 67,503 Bulgarians. The Bulgarians, in short, represent in Thrace only a small minority, whereas the Greeks are from five to six times more numerous. And if we add to those parts of Thrace, the fate of which has still to be decided, the population of the district of Constantinople, the disproportion between the Greek and the Bulgarian elements will be greater still, the Greeks being ten times superior in number to the Bulgarians. This superiority of the Greeks over the Bulgarians, already proved both by Turkish and Greek statistics, is still more eloquently confirmed in the fact that the Greek-Bulgarian electoral agreement of 1912 provided for the return for Thrace of seven Greek deputies and only one Bulgarian.

After having failed to prove the historical and ethnological claims of Bulgaria to Thrace, the Bulgarian Peace Delegation falls back on economic arguments, stating that (1) Bulgaria must have Thrace in order to retain an outlet to the Aegean Sea; (2) Thrace must remain Bulgarian as it is the Bulgarian population which cultivates the soil and represents the most stable element and the principal factor of production. As regards the outlet to the Aegean Sea, the Bulgarians declare that if they are deprived of it they will be forced to use as

waterways the Black Sea and the Danube, with the result that Bulgarian trade will be dependent on powers which are masters of the mouth of the above-named river and of the Dardanelles. The weakness of this argument is obvious. Compared with the conditions in which are placed several European States which have no territorial outlet to any sea, Bulgaria, with two such excellent ports as Varna and Burgas, is placed in quite a privileged position. And as the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus will be under international control, her trade is in no danger of being dependent on any other State. Besides, Greece has not only offered Bulgaria the use of one of her ports on the Aegean, but also has consented that this outlet for Bulgarian trade shall be placed under the control and the guarantee of the League of Nations.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Conditions in Czechoslovakia during October and November showed clearly a stabilizing tendency. The 3,000,000, more or less irreconcilable Germans of German Bohemia, whose protests over the allotment of their territory to the new republic had been vociferously unceasing, showed a desire for a *rapprochement* with President Thomas Masaryk and his Government. Bolshevism was killed by the liberal and far-sighted policy of the President, whose personal popularity was tremendous after his approval of a measure that made the 8-hour day a national law. One Muna, a Czech Bolshevik, who sought to emulate Lenin and overthrow the Government, had been promptly arrested and imprisoned, and Smeral, leader of the radical wing of the Social Democrats, had fled to Switzerland. Economically the country was rapidly reverting to normal. The port of Hamburg, the use of which, under the terms of the Peace Treaty, was given to the Czechoslovaks, had already cleared two American ships with cargoes of American goods. Raw materials were being brought in from neighboring countries to start the factories. The most important industries of Czechoslovakia, textiles and glass manufactures, were rapidly being re-established. The harvests were good, and sugar was plentiful owing to a surplus of sugar beets. All of the coal used on the Austrian railways was being supplied by Czechoslovakia.

Politically, a policy of universal conciliation toward neighboring nations was outlined by Dr. Edward Benes, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, in a speech delivered before the National Assembly in the first week of October.

### BELGIUM, HOLLAND, LUXEMBURG

As a result of the elections held in Belgium on Nov. 16, the Cabinet, which took office under the Premiership of M. Delacroix just a year ago, resigned two days later, but was asked by King Albert to remain in office until the line-up of the new Chamber should be definitely known. According to advices received Nov. 19 no party in the new Chamber will have an absolute majority. It will consist of seventy-three members of the Catholic party, seventy Socialists, thirty-four Liberals, and five to ten members elected from the smaller political groups. The Chamber elected in 1913 was made up as follows:

Catholics .....	101
Liberals .....	35
Social Democrats .....	39
Christian Socialists.....	2

The Socialist gains of thirty-one and the Catholic losses of twenty-four were said to be due principally to the recent abolition of plural voting.

The receipts of the Belgian Treasury for the first seven months of 1919 totaled 421,000,000 francs, exceeding the Government's estimate by over ten million. Trains circulated all over the kingdom, eighty per cent. of the 1,100 kilometers destroyed by Germany having been repaired or diverted, or the German constructions utilized. Although Belgium suffered a destruction of rolling stock of 50 per cent., the freight tonnage in October reached 60 per cent. of the pre-war amount.

Some indications of the re-establishment of business relations between Holland and Germany were given last month—a rush on the part of the Dutchmen to get ahead of the Allies. Since then it was announced in The Hague that a group of Dutch bankers, headed by the Netherlands Handels-Maatschappij, had granted a credit of over \$23,000,000 for the purchase of raw materials

for German industry, especially cotton. Fifty per cent. of this raw material will be re-exported in the form of goods to pay off the credit, and the other 50 per cent. will be used for German domestic needs or uncontrolled export abroad.

All this was emphasized by M. Van Aalst, the well-known Dutch banker and President of the new Netherlands Overseas Trust, in an interview on Oct. 23, who added:

I hope that after a few months America will come to the conclusion that its urgent help not only to the allied powers with credits but also to Central Europe is to her own interests. The main idea is to give credit for raw material, which spells industry and stimulation of export trade, with which debts to other countries can be paid. The rehabilitation of Germany is in the interest of the world, and it is safe to state that most international bankers and financiers have now arrived at this conclusion.

The official figures of the Luxembourg plebiscitum, which took place on Sept. 28, were published as follows:

Voters on the register.....	127,775
Actual voters .....	90,984

#### DYNASTIC QUESTION

For the Grand Duchess Charlotte..	66,811
For another Grand Duchess.....	1,286
For another dynasty .....	889
For a republic .....	16,883
Blank and spoiled papers.....	5,113

#### ECONOMIC QUESTION

For an economic union with France	60,135
For an economic union with Belgium .....	22,242
Blank and spoiled papers.....	8,807

General elections took place in Luxembourg on Oct. 26, under the new law including the *scrutin de liste* with proportional representation, both sexes over the age of 21 voting for candidates of 25 years or over, with the following results:

Clericals .....	24
Socialists .....	11
Radicals .....	7
Independents .....	2
Pro-Belgians .....	4
<hr/>	
Total .....	48

The new Chamber thus consists of 48 seats as against 53 in the old. In the old the Right—the Catholic and Agrarian Party—had 23 and put 48 candidates in the field; the Radicals, formerly the Liberals, had 8 seats and put for-

ward 28; the Socialists, with 12, had 41 candidates, and the People's Party, with 6 seats in the old, had 19 candidates for the new. There were other small groups, and three women candidates, two of them Socialists.

## FRANCE

Up to Nov. 19 the French Depatorial election, held Nov. 16, showed the following distribution of parties in comparison with the old Chamber, elected May 10, 1914:

	1919.
Republican Left .....	123
Radicals .....	57
Radical Socialists .....	78
Republican Socialists .....	26
Unified Socialists .....	65
Dissident Socialists .....	6
Progressives .....	126
L'Action Libérale Group.....	78
Conservatives .....	32
	1914.
Organized Radicals .....	136
Democratic Left .....	102
Organized Socialists .....	102
Alliance Démocratique .....	100
Progressivists and Federated Republicans .....	54
Action Libérale .....	34
Independent Socialists .....	30
Right .....	26
Independent .....	18
<hr/>	
Total.....	602

The incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine raised the number of seats from 602 to 626. Another academic feature of the election was the return to the *scrutin de liste*, or blanket ballot, with partial proportional representation. The contest on general lines was waged between the forces of democratic government and those of extreme socialism, or Bolshevism, the former led by Premier Clemenceau with the *Bloc National*, the backbone of which was the Organized Radicals or so-called Radical Socialists and the various Conservative and Republican factions, with the strength, for the time, of the old Right made up of Royalists and Clericals, who collectively took the name of *Action Française*. Opposed to these were the various Extremist groups led by Socialists ranging from personal enemies of Clemenceau, like Henry Franklin-Bouillon and Pierre Renaudel, to Jean Longuet, the Bolshevik.

Nearly all the Opposition leaders were defeated and nearly all the Government leaders were elected, with the result that it was estimated that the latter would control more than 500 of the 626 members of the next Chamber.

The curtain was rung down, Oct. 19, on the French war Parliament, which had sat since the Summer of 1914. The Chamber gave itself over to a patriotic demonstration. One of the last acts of the Senate was to pass the Amnesty bill, but without the clause passed by the Chamber extending amnesty to certain categories of military convicts.

According to figures presented by M. Klotz, Minister of Finance, on Oct. 21, France must borrow \$400,000,000 a year in order to balance the budget. In the Chamber, however, four days before, he had presented statistics to prove that France, on account of her industries and borrowing power, was still a creditor nation, and added:

We owe abroad 30 milliards of francs, about half of which is due to the United States, but France has a very important credit balance. France was before the war and is still the greatest creditor in the world. France had before the war placed 48 milliards abroad, and she advanced during the war thirteen and a half milliards to different nations.

On Nov. 10, the linotypers and typographers of the Paris papers went on a strike, stopping the publication of all save the Socialist papers. The next day the proprietors joined forces and brought out a new paper called *La Presse de Paris*, which was said to have had an immense effect on cutting down the Socialist vote. The first issue of *La Presse de Paris* sold to the extent of 5,000,000 copies.

### ITALY

The elections to the Twenty-fifth Parliament since the foundation of the Kingdom of Italy took place on Nov. 16. So far as reported up to Nov. 19, the new Chamber, compared with the old, which had been in office since 1913, had the following distribution:

1919.

Ministerialists .....	145
Socialists .....	126
Catholics .....	90

Constitutional Opposition .....	36
Nationalists .....	23
Republicans .....	16
1913.	
Constitutionalists .....	318
Radicals .....	70
Republicans .....	16
Socialists .....	77
Syndicalists .....	3
Catholics .....	24

Total ..... 508

For the first time the Catholics voted as an organized political party, the Italian Popular Party. Other organized parties were the Socialists and the Republicans. Other designated groups were divided on the sole question of being for or against the Nitti Government. Other features of the election included the use, as in France, of the blanket ballot, and the division of Italy into fifty-four constituencies, each returning members varying from five at Sassari to twenty at Milan, with the Roman province raised from five to fifteen. The Socialists gained in all the larger northern cities, due to the apathy of the bourgeoisie, it was said. The chief gains of the Catholics were in the southern rural districts.

The strength of the Nitti Government in the new Chamber would, it was said, depend upon his ability to gain the support on international questions of the Socialists and Catholics, to which might be added the strength of the Nationalists should he advocate the annexation of Fiume. On Oct. 31 Premier Nitti addressed a letter to his constituents in which he said:

It is deplorable that our allies do not realize that the question of Fiume has no economic value for Italy, but a moral value, being a question of national dignity and sentiment. Opposition from friendly nations will mean the creation of an intolerable internal situation for Italy, and also an uneasy international situation, the effects of which might be most injurious.

In making a report on the food situation in Italy, H. C. MacLean, U. S. Trade Commissioner at Rome, stated:

The minimum requirements of the non-producing proportion of the population are 40,000,000 quintals, of which, as has already been stated, it is hoped to obtain 20,000,000 quintals from local sources, and to import 20,000,000 from abroad.

He declared that lack of tonnage continued to be a serious obstacle to the early recovery of Italy's industrial and commercial activity. On the other hand, he wrote that the Italian coal situation was improving.

### LATIN AMERICA

A group of fifty German families arrived at Buenos Aires on Oct. 30, and were assigned to land in the Argentine territory of Missiones. Four hundred more were expected. The concessions consist of 25, 50, or 100 hectares, according to the size of the family.

The convention of the Socialist Party of Argentina adopted a resolution on Nov. 12, protesting against the allied blockade of Bolshevik Russia.

Domingo Salaberry, Argentine Minister of Finance, negotiated a loan with the Bank of Spain at Madrid. The sum under consideration was 500,000,000 pesetas, or about \$100,000,000.

On Oct. 19 the Brazilian Chamber defeated a proposal to reduce obligatory military service from two to one year. The vote was 75 to 49.

A vast scheme for the irrigation of semi-arid territory in Brazil was considered by the Congress. It was reported that since 1877 more than a million inhabitants of Northeastern Brazil had perished from famine and its consequences. A study of the rainfall in the State of Ceara, the least favored, showed an annual precipitation of 80,000,000,000 cubic meters, 16,000,000,000 of which could be collected and be made to irrigate about a million hectares or 2,400,000 acres. The project called for an annual outlay of 40,000 contos (\$11,000,000) up to 200,000 contos (\$55,00,000), and included reservoirs, dams and canals.

On Oct. 20 it was announced from the City of Mexico that steps had been taken to irrigate 200,000 hectares of land in the Fuerte River valley, State of Sinaloa, where German immigrants were expected to buy tracts on the twenty-year-payment plan. According to the official publication of the Mexican Department of Industry, Commerce and Colonization, the scheme which provided

for an annual inflow of 45,000 Germans, had its origin last March. A bulletin issued in November showed the concessions made to Germans close to Carranza during the year to have been as follows: J. Meakany, 494,209 acres; M. Coltz, 370,650; E. Müller, 247,100; von Magnus, 591,685; to four others, 1,073,635 acres.

### NEW ZEALAND

The High Commissioner for New Zealand at London received a dispatch from his Government on Oct. 25 giving the slate of the reconstructed New Zealand Cabinet as follows:

Prime Minister—Mr. W. F. MASSEY.  
Defense and Finance—Sir JAMES ALLEN.

Native Affairs and Customs—Mr. W. H. HERRIES.

Public Works—Sir WILLIAM FRASER.  
Attorney General and Education—Sir F. H. D. BELL.

Lands—Mr. D. H. GUTHRIE.

Internal Affairs—Mr. J. B. HINE.

Agriculture—Mr. WILLIAM NORWORTHY.

Justice and Postmaster General—Mr. J. G. COATES.

Member of the Executive Council Representing the Native Race—Dr. M. POMARE.

### PERSIA

Ayn-Lam-Ber, acting for the National Party of Persia, said to have been first organized by the American W. Morgan Shuster when he was Treasurer General at Teheran in 1911-12, sent out an appeal against the Anglo-Persian treaty on the ground that it is the first step toward annexation and contrary to the terms of the Persian Constitution. The document also declared that in the light of the following facts the treaty had not the approval of the Persian people:

1. After our revolution of 1906 the Anglo-Russian diplomacy aimed several times at our rights. She never got from us willingly what she wanted. Every time she had to make use of ultimatums and even play at invading the country. Meanwhile the supremacy of right over force had not yet been proclaimed as a dogma. Persia could not rely on any guarantee protecting the life of the weaker. Nevertheless, she firmly stood up for her independence.

Is it comprehensible that now—at the dawn of an era of justice, after all the assurances given by the Entente about the

free disposition of nations, after the expounding of the Wilsonian principles, at the very moment when small nations recover their long-lost independence—Persia hands over of her own free will her army, her police, her finances, and her economic resources to a foreign power? And all this in exchange for a loan of two million pounds sterling at 7%, to be paid monthly.

2. The head of the present Government, appointed to his post during the dissolution of Parliament, was forced on the Shah by Great Britain. In spite of possible official disproof which may be issued against this the truth of it can easily be proved.

3. The negotiations that brought about the present agreement have lasted nine months! Such length of time is significant. It was not the result of the British imperialists' hesitating before the tempting morsel, but due to the Persian Government's fear of a revolution. The latter wanted time enough to gather sufficient strength to force the fateful act upon the people.

4. These coercive forces, organized, supervised, and paid by the British, are now fulfilling their office. They rage against the people in revolt. They arrest patriots. They forbid manifestations. They deport former Ministers.

Today it is the goal; tomorrow—the gallows!

These facts which, if wanted, could be verified by impartial investigation, show that the agreement of Aug. 9, the work of the Cabinet appointed by Britain under threat of British bayonets, is very far indeed from being approved by the Persian people.

### SCANDINAVIA

According to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, within ten days after the treaty has been put in operation, the people in the zones of Schleswig are to decide their Danish or German nationality by a plebiscite. The manner in which this will be done will be found in the text under the accompanying map.

It was said to be certain that the voters in the First Zone would vote solid for Denmark. The important port of Flensburg comes within the Second Zone, and, though this town was entirely Danish at the time of the war of 1866, the German Government, in pursuance of the same policy which it adopted in Prussian Poland and Alsace, sought to Germanize Schleswig as much as possible, with the result that there is a considerable German population now in the town. The International Commission,

however, of which Sir Charles Marling, British Minister at Copenhagen, is Chairman, is not compelled to stand by the result of the plebiscite.

It will be remembered that the Peace



*Schleswig-Holstein as far south as the Kiel Canal. In the first zone the inhabitants vote en bloc for or against reunion with Denmark at the latest twenty-one days after the German military and civil authorities have evacuated. In the second zone voting is by municipalities not later than five weeks after the voting in the first zone. According to official Danish wishes, no plebiscite will be taken in Zone III.*

Conference originally decided to have plebiscites in three zones, but no plebiscite will be taken in the Third Zone in deference to the wish expressed by the Danish Government.

Norman Hapgood, United States Minister to Denmark, sent some excerpts from two proposed Danish industrial laws, one of which placed all industries under public control by means of a business council composed of sixteen members, four of whom are to be appointed by the Rigsdag eleven by the Minister of the Interior, and one, the Chairman, by the Government, and the other gave employees participation in all business enterprises employing five or more adult workmen. An extract from the first reads:

All concerns which are believed to be operating on too large a profit, or whose

activities are suspected of being otherwise against the interests of the community, the Business Council may place under its own direct supervision. Such firms will be required to submit their annual accounts to the Council, and to give the Council any other information which may be required to enable it to ascertain the exact status of the industry, including the conditions relative to production and sale of the commodity being marketed. But no firm may be required to divulge secret processes of a technical nature. Refusal to give any other relevant information upon demand of the Council is made a police offense, and is punishable by a fine of 50 to 1,000 crowns (\$13.40 to \$268) per day. In enforcing its decisions the Business Council may appropriate the services of State and municipal authorities.

The second law covers specifically "industries and crafts," but professional concerns may be included by the consent of the Business Council:

It is proposed by this law that the details of participation shall be a matter of agreement between the Danish Employers' Association and the Federation of Trade Unions of Denmark; but that such agreement shall assure the employees the right of participation in the control of the observance of work agreements and of decisions relative to workmen's safety legislation; in the matter of the employment and discharge of workmen and of their nearest foremen; and in the preparation of the annual income report of the enterprise. \* \* \*

Violations of the covenants of this law are punishable by a fine of 10 to 2,000 crowns (\$2.68 to \$536). All enterprises employing five or more adult workmen and coming under the classification of industries and crafts are subject to the provisions of the law, whether represented in the Danish Employers' Association or not.

### SPAIN

A labor crisis and a political crisis occurred in Spain. Owing to the strictness of the censorship the outside world learned little about either. According to the censored dispatches the Congress of Spanish Employers, sitting at Barcelona, declared a lockout on Oct. 26, to take effect throughout Spain on Nov. 4, affecting over one million workers, and closing all the principal industries, trades and professions, even schools and public works. The lockout went into effect. It was stated on Nov. 13 that the opposing organizations had come to

terms, but two days later the rupture was renewed by strikes succeeding the general lockout.

Meanwhile, a political crisis arose through the vain efforts of the Minister of the Interior to meet the situation, which, if prolonged, threatened the life of the country, the Government, and even of the dynasty itself. The Minister of the Interior, Señor Burgos, tried to resign, but the King induced him to remain. On Nov. 11 there was the report that a new Conservative Government would be formed with Señor Dato as Premier; two days later it was announced that the Liberals had rallied to the side of Melquiades Alvarez, the Reformist and anti-German leader, who, with the help of Count Romanones, then in London, would form a stalwart, progressive Government. In a statement to the London press Count Romanones subsequently threw light on the entire situation. He said:

The main task of the Spanish Government is the same as that of all other Governments, not only in Europe but in the world—to combat Syndicalism, not only Syndicalism among the industrial workers, but Syndicalism among State officials. In this task it will have the support of all parties which are opposed to the forces of disruption.

Mail advices from Madrid showed that the action of the Congress of Spanish Employers was aimed at the mighty Confederacion General del Trabajo, which Frank A. Vanderlip had described before the Economy Club in New York on May 26, as a perfect laboratory of Bolshevism, "an organization that was the most mysterious, the most terrifying of any organization that I ever encountered. \* \* \* It is secret to the extent that the members themselves do not know who guides it. It calls general strikes merely for gymnastic exercises. It rules by assassination."

The effective, comprehensive organization of the Confederacion General del Trabajo—the General Federation of Labor—with its headquarters at Barcelona, is a relic of German Kultur receiving its vital force from the late German Ambassador, Prince von Ratibor, and his able lieutenant in propaganda, Dr. von Stohrer. It is non-political, and

its membership embraces nearly all forms of employment capable of being organized in the interests of an entirely industrial régime. Opposing employers, whether individuals, corporations, or officials, are "removed."

Following its decision for a lockout the Congress of Spanish Employers issued a note to the Minister of the Interior explaining its drastic action as follows:

Our decision is due to the pernicious influence of a certain part—albeit a small one—of the proletariat, which renders all useful work impossible. The employers attribute the present state of affairs to the action of a certain group of miners which has as its object the destruction of the social edifice in Spain, which renders all useful work impossible. The employers therefore appeal to the working classes to rally around them, repudiating those who are trying to ruin national industry.

Meanwhile, we do not see any better or more radical way to put an end to this pernicious influence than by declaring a lockout, by which the working classes, who are the first victims of the Syndicalist endeavors, may be made aware of the errors into which they have been induced.

### SWITZERLAND

The official result of the Swiss elections to the National Council, or House of Representatives, held Oct. 26, was announced as follows:

Radical Democrats .....	63
Catholic Conservatives .....	42
Socialists .....	39
Peasants .....	27
Liberal Democrats .....	9
East Swiss Democrats .....	4
Grutleans .....	3
Progressive Bourgeois .....	1
Evangelist .....	1
Total .....	189

### TURKEY

Major Gen. James G. Harbord and the members of his mission to Turkey reached Paris, where they began to prepare their formal report, which will have a measurable influence in determining the status, not only of Armenia, but the Turkish Empire—at least as far as the United States is concerned.

Conflicting views as to the status of Kemal Pasha and the Nationalist Army come from two sources—one describing them as patriots not opposed to any rational decree of the Peace Conference,

and the other designating them as opposed to any political or territorial change in the empire. The same conflicting statements were made in regard to the new Cabinet organized by General Ali Riza Pasha on Oct. 4, after the Sultan had received an ultimatum from Kemal Pasha to dismiss the pro-Conference Damad Ferid Pasha Government.

### UNITED KINGDOM

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the House of Commons on Oct. 27 that the railway strike, which began Sept. 27 and ended Oct. 6, had cost the Treasury nearly \$50,000,000, one item of which, amounting to nearly \$160,000, was for publicity. The cost to the National Union of Railwaymen had already been estimated at over \$10,000,000.

On the same day a White Paper was issued, showing an estimated deficit of over \$2,000,000,000, with large items of assets postponed for payment, including nearly \$100,000,000 repayments for the maintenance of Australian troops, and \$345,000,000 repayment by Germany for the cost of the Army of Occupation. Other war assets due amount to about \$13,130,000,000, but to be deducted from this sum is the American liability of \$4,210,000,000. It was estimated that the expenditures for 1919-20 would be about \$2,365,000,000 and the revenue about \$4,030,000,000.

On Oct. 27 the Cabinet was also reduced in number and reconstructed as follows, the exchange of portfolios of Earl Curzon and A. J. Balfour being the chief items of interest, with the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, still as First Lord of the Treasury:

Lord Privy Seal—Mr. BONAR LAW.

Lord President of Council—Mr. A. J. BALFOUR.

Chancellor of Exchequer—Mr. A. CHAMBERLAIN.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—Mr. G. N. BARNES, or Viscount FRENCH.

Chief Secretary—Mr. MACPHERSON.

Lord Chancellor—Lord BIRKENHEAD.

Secretary of State for Home Department—Mr. SHORTT.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—EARL CURZON.

Secretary of State for Colonies—Viscount MILNER.

Secretary of State for War and Air—  
Mr. CHURCHILL.

Secretary of State for India—Mr. MONTAGU.

First Lord of Admiralty—Mr. LONG.

Secretary for Scotland—Mr. MUNRO.

President of Board of Trade—Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES.

Minister of Health—Dr. ADDISON.

President of Board of Agriculture and Fisheries—Lord LEE of Farnham.

President of Board of Education—Mr. FISHER.

Minister of Labor—Sir R. S. HORNE.

Minister of Transport—Sir ERIC GEDDES.

Viscountess Astor having accepted the invitation of the Unionist Association at Plymouth to stand for the seat in the House of Commons vacated by her husband (son of the late William Waldorf Astor of New York) upon his accession to the Peerage, the bye-election took place on Nov. 15 and it was reported that Viscountess Astor had been seated by a plurality of 5,000 votes.

Great excitement, particularly in the French press, was caused on Nov. 8, when the Prime Minister, speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet, on which occasion the policy of the Government is usually outlined, referred to the vain attempt to obtain peace in Russia last spring, and added: "I hope the time is not distant when the powers will be able to renew that attempt with better prospects of success." This was qualified two days later by Mr. Bonar Law, the Government leader, who assured the House of Commons that the Government had no intention of opening negotiations with Bolshevik Russia until the House had had an opportunity to discuss the subject.

### THE VATICAN

Although women of Italy did not take part in the election for the Twenty-fifth Parliament on Nov. 16, the Catholic Party—Partito Popolare Italiano, or Italian Popular Party—began an educational campaign by sending the leaders of several Catholic women's organizations to the polls for observation and by circulars. This organization was begun by Filippo Meda, ex-Minister of Finance, and a leader of the Catholic aristocracy, which until the removal of the Papal inhibition took no part in the national elections.

The Vatican organ, *Osservatore Romano*, disclaimed any intention of the Vatican to control the Popular Party and stated that it was a free Catholic organization.

These two new political features—woman suffrage and the organization of Catholic women by the Popular Party—brought to an important stage of development the problem of woman in relation to the Church. Some conservative authorities even went so far as to say that she could not vote unless certain religious restrictions had been removed. On the other hand, Pope Benedict XV. received numerous petitions for the removal of these restrictions. The most elaborate document of this nature, from both the point of view of history and of law, was entitled "*Per la Riabilitazione della Donna*," (For the Rehabilitation of Woman,) bearing the imprint of Pastorio of Vicenza.

In the same category was a petition from the priests of the district of Prague, urging that the Pope abolish the law prescribing celibacy for the priesthood as far as it concerned Czechoslovakia. The Papal Archbishop Ikordac excommunicated fifty-one priests there who had taken wives while continuing to exercise the duties of their office.

On Oct. 22 the Pope in answering an address presented to him by the women's union declared:

On the domestic hearth woman is queen. Changed times have given woman functions and rights which she did not possess in former ages, and have enlarged the field of her activities, but no alteration in man's opinion, no novelty of things or events can separate woman, conscious of her high mission, from the family, which is her natural centre.

On Nov. 3 the first Consistory since 1916, when the Archbishops of Rennes, Rouen and Lyons were made Cardinals, was announced for December. It was understood that the Polish Archbishops of Warsaw and Gnesen would receive the beretto.

For the first time since Italy entered the war the Pope on Nov. 8 officially received in private audience a representative of the Central Powers. He was Baron Johann von Gebsettel, Secretary of the Bavarian Legation.

# Germany Again at Work

## First Industrial Nation to Stop Labor Disturbances—War Guilt Investigation

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 18, 1919]

THE outstanding feature of German life in the Autumn of 1919 was the remarkable revival of industry. The German people went to work again in earnest. The renewed signs of prosperity were commented upon at length by several foreign observers, who gave facts and figures in proof of their assertions. The Government, it is true, enforced a complete cessation of passenger traffic on all the railways of the nation for ten days—Nov. 5 to 15—primarily to save coal, though the embargo was also regarded as a masterstroke of Minister of Defense Noske to reduce the risk of a Communist uprising on the first anniversary of the German revolution. The National Assembly Committee for the Investigation of War Responsibility convened in Berlin and dragged a tedious course along from day to day. Hugo Haase, the Independent Socialist leader, died of wounds inflicted by an assassin.

President Ebert's repeated warnings that only by work would it be possible for Germany to restore her shattered commercial and social fabrics began to bear fruit by the middle of September. From all parts of the country dispatches indicated a return to the national sense of order and united effort after the months of political turmoil that followed the signing of the armistice. What was especially noteworthy, in view of the conflict between capital and labor in other countries, was the workingmen's clear perception of the fundamental difficulties of the problem. They began to see that "higher wages alone would not improve living conditions owing to the increased cost of living." Further, the eight-hour day was impossible for European economy, as twenty or thirty million European workmen in their best working years were now producing nothing, owing to the war, and the strain

of the war had decreased the production of others. The only road leading back to normal prosperity was that of increased production through longer working hours.

### LONGER WORKING HOURS

The first sign of this realization was manifested by the Würtemberg Railway employees in voluntarily deciding to work ten hours more each week to lessen the coal crisis. Coincidentally, it was remarked that the piecework system was again being adopted, and a reaction was setting in against radicalism, whereby the strike fever, spreading over Europe and America, was abating in Germany. From all districts reports presently came to hand of a general speeding up of work, especially in those industries possessing raw materials and not hampered by lack of fuel.

Thus, the beginning of October witnessed the glass industry rapidly overhauling peace time production, with porcelain, optical, musical, and toy manufactures following closely. While the dye industry was reviving more slowly, top speed had been attained in the Solingen steel industries. According to the Frankfurter Zeitung these works were flooded with orders for cutlery of all descriptions, including surgical instruments, from the United States among other foreign countries. Herein the advantage to the foreign buyer was plain. Although prices at Solingen had been raised 300 to 400 per cent., the cost of Solingen steel wares on foreign orders, owing to the depreciation of the mark, was only 8 per cent. above pre-war prices.

The cure of work, and more work, was rapidly overcoming the disease of near-chaos in Germany. The Federal Labor Ministry stated that within six months the number of unemployed in

Germany had been reduced from 1,500,000 to about 500,000. After talking with officials and labor leaders a correspondent thus summed up the reasons for the favorable change:

First, employees have already gained a considerable increase in wages and other privileges all around. Second, they are tired of strikes, seeing their gains in wages swallowed by enforced idleness. One great incentive for strikes formerly was the chance of an extra holiday, but since the eight-hour day was introduced the workmen have so much leisure they actually begin to hate it. Third, the reawakening of trade with foreign countries, which has already assumed a much larger proportion than is realized outside Germany.

Set against this hopeful view of the industrial situation in Germany there remained the two chief difficulties of shortage of raw materials and coal. The raw material problem was said to have been solved in at least one instance by the characteristically prompt enterprise of a New York merchant. He brought over his own cotton yarn, valued in Germany at 25,000,000 marks, and at once set to work thousands of men and women who made it into stockings and other tricotage.

#### THE RAILWAY EMBARGO

To relieve the coal stress as applied to the congestion of railroad freight, the Government ordered a suspension of all passenger trains for ten days commencing Nov. 5. In the face of much adverse criticism the Government justified its action by asserting that the lack of locomotives, together with the fact that many railroad centres were threatened with exhaustion of their coal supply, compelled immediate attention to the distribution of food and coal. A New York Times correspondent, on arriving in Berlin just as the order was going into effect, said that one almost welcomed the official ban on travel, since railroad journeys in Germany had become purgatorial. The few trains running during the last month or two had become dangerously packed. He found the food situation in the capital slightly worse than six weeks before, telephoning an almost impossible achievement, hotels so overcrowded that

guests were sleeping in the bathrooms, and the mail service in confusion.

In Berlin the companies controlling the airplane services were besieged by persons with urgent business in other parts of the country, but benzine was scarce and few airplanes were available. Most of them were commandeered by the Government for forwarding mails. The passenger Zeppelin Bodensee left for Friedrichshafen with two tons of mail and no passengers. No motor buses were running, and not a taxi could be hired to go beyond the city limits. A few privileged individuals who presented sufficient pleas were permitted to depart on freight trains. The stoppage of passenger traffic produced some curious results. Many concerts were abandoned, since the artists could not reach the city. In the courts accused persons could easily obtain bail without sureties because the chances of flight were infinitesimal. Profiteers were hard hit because they could not bring in their high-priced goods; but prices soared, while the value of the mark fell lower than ever before.

First results of the railroad embargo gave the satisfactory figures of 106,000 freight cars placed at the disposal of the Ruhr coal fields of West Prussia, an increase of fully 20 per cent. over the previous week; and 7,000 cars daily, an increase of 25 per cent., delivered to the Upper Silesian coal fields, more than sufficient to handle the output of those mines. Berlin advices reported, however, a tightening of the food belt within a few days to the extent of 50 per cent. of the potato supply, and a cutting down of the milk ration from a half to a quarter of a liter.

#### FIXING BLAME FOR WAR

An initial report of the National Assembly's sub-committee for the investigation of war responsibility was cabled on Oct. 21. The first meeting was described as possessing the solemn atmosphere of a judicial court, though there were no accused as yet before its bar, and though its power even to compel the attendance of witnesses was in doubt. Among those present for examination,

however, were several notable figures of the imperial régime, including the former Ambassador to the United States, Count von Bernstorff; ex-Chancellor Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, Dr. Helfferich, and Dr. Zimmermann.

At the second session, Oct. 22, von Bernstorff carried his testimony forward through the peace negotiations with President Wilson to the declaration of unrestricted U-boat warfare in 1917. The witness was reported as exercising greater caution in his answers, sometimes considering more than a minute before responding to questions, and often consulting State papers. Much wrangling took place over the question why definite German peace conditions were never named to President Wilson. While Bernstorff's answers did not clear up this matter, there remained the apparent fact that without such positive knowledge the President was willing to mediate. Von Bernstorff caused a sensation when he professed to have been greatly shocked by his discovery, after the revolution, of a letter from the Kaiser addressed to Herr Zimmermann among papers in the Foreign Office and dated Jan. 16, 1917. This letter read: "His Majesty instructs me to thank you for your communication. His Majesty does not care a bit about President Wilson's offer. If a breach with America cannot be prevented, it cannot be helped. Events are developing."

#### MILITARY FAILURE FORESEEN

The session of Nov. 5 brought out the surprising disclosure from official archives that the army authorities went on record in 1916 as declaring that land warfare could not win for Germany; that it must be won diplomatically and politically. Dr. Zimmermann represented American Ambassador Gerard as having stated in reply to a question as to what the result of unrestricted U-boat warfare would be in the United States: "I don't know what they want in Washington. You may be right in the action you are taking." The Ambassador, according to Zimmermann, promised to use his influence to keep America neutral, and was again quoted by the witness as

having said: "I shall do my best to avoid further friction."

With reference to the number of U-boats constructed by Germany, the former Minister of Marine, Vice Admiral Eduard von Capelle, stated that "810 submarines were built before and during the war. Of these 45 were constructed before the war, 186 were built during the administration of Admiral von Tirpitz, and 579 were built by me in the two and a half years I was in office."

#### HINDENBURG AND ROYALISTS

When Field Marshal von Hindenburg arrived in Berlin to testify before the investigating commission he suddenly became the centre of embarrassing attentions on the part of the Pan-Germans. When he tried to enter the Reichstag building on Nov. 14 his automobile was surrounded by students, who blocked his way, crying that he must not degrade himself by appearing before the committee, and mingling shouts for the Kaiser with the singing of "Deutschland über Alles." The former Commander in Chief was finally compelled to order his chauffeur to return home; however, he appeared before the committee four days later.

Hindenburg's presence in Berlin caused a marked upflaring of Junker and reactionary sentiment, which took the form of demonstrations before his door and elsewhere. Through the press he issued a request on the 15th that the public refrain from further manifestations in his honor, as he did not desire to be the cause of any disorder. The Government, while posting sentries of honor before Helfferich's house, where the Field Marshal was staying, took the precaution on Nov. 16 of stringing barbed wire barricades across Wilhelmstrasse and other important thoroughfares to prevent further reactionary demonstrations. It was remarked that while this step had been taken frequently against the Spartacists, it was the first occasion when it had seemed necessary against the monarchists.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg appeared before the committee on Nov. 18

and made important statements in reply to six questions which had been submitted to him in writing. "I know with absolute certainty," he said, "that neither the people, the Kaiser, nor the Government desired war, for the Government knew better than others Germany's tremendously difficult position in a war against the Entente." He added that if there had been united co-operation between the army and the homeland Germany would have won. Internal agitation, he said, had broken the will to victory. He and Ludendorff had been in entire accord throughout the war. Both had favored unrestricted U-boat warfare. "When 1917 came," he continued, "we could no longer permit our gallant soldiers to be bombarded with American ammunition and their wives and children to be starved by the blockade. The U-boat war was the only means to oppose those conditions."

The second of the six questions submitted to Hindenburg asked whether the army leaders knew of the warnings of Under Secretaries Haniel and Albert regarding the probable effects of submarine warfare upon America, and, if so, why they had no longer considered those warnings sound. Herr Haniel's report was read. It had informed the German Government that America, despite its English and French ties, would go to war with Germany if the submarine methods were continued, whereas, if the U-boat activities ceased, it would compel the British blockade to be lifted. Any relaxation of Germany's promises made in 1916 meant war with Germany.

Under Secretary Heinrich F. Albert, formerly Commercial Attaché in the German Embassy at Washington, had made this still more emphatic statement on Nov. 6, 1916:

If Germany can beat England, then war with America will make no difference. But thus far our boats have been unable to sink the large British armed merchantmen. The blockade of England would have to last a long time and be supported loyally, and if Japan can be induced by England to keep its fleet at home America has the possibility of sending its ships to European waters.

America can raise at least several army corps, and strengthening of the Entente forces would result. It would be most

important in economic questions and would energetically support its allies, with no telling what huge loans, under the influence of the enthusiasm in America. Witness the Americans who came to France and created the Lafayette Flying Squadron. That dangerous branch of warfare would be surely vastly strengthened.

America's transportation without doubt would be efficient and capable of increase, and if America feels safe from Japan she will throw all her ammunition to France, not to forget the wonderful American automobile industry, the giant Ford factories, and other machines which would help in winning the war.

Neutrals would side with America. The psychological effect would be felt at once. It would be a national misfortune, and, at the end, Germany would be sure to be defeated.

General Ludendorff's testimony, which followed, included an attack upon von Bernstorff for not having furnished correct information from Washington. Count von Bernstorff said this was renewed proof that the German Embassy at Washington had been unpopular with the naval and military leaders, who would not believe its representations regarding America.

#### ATTACKS ON NOSKE

During the latter part of September, Minister of Defense Noske was the object of attacks both from within and from without his own party. Ex-Premier Philipp Scheidemann returned from his vacation to denounce Colonel Reinhard as a national danger and Noske as a tool of the military reactionaries. Noske issued a defense of his position in maintaining order, and warned the Allies that if compelled to fulfill that part of the Peace Treaty which enforced a reduction of the German Army to 100,000 he would not have a single intact battalion to confront the most threatening period of reconstruction. That the incident left Noske as securely seated in the saddle as before was indicated by the severe measures he was able to adopt in preventing the general strike set for Nov. 5 in support of the metal workers' walkout. The Berlin headquarters of the Independent Socialists were occupied, a meeting of street railway employees was dissolved, the Executive Council of Workmen's

Delegates dispersed, and the thoroughfares of the city paraded by formidable military patrols.

According to reports reaching the American authorities at Coblenz, the passenger embargo held a master stroke concealed within the ostensible reason of necessary coal distribution. Minister of Defense Noske, it was declared, was determined to eliminate as far as possible the threatened danger of a repetition of the events of the year before, when the revolutionists used trains out of Kiel and other places to travel quickly to places where outbreaks were planned.

#### DEATH OF HUGO HAASE

Hugo Haase, President of the Independent Socialist Party, died on Nov. 7, at the age of 56, from the effects of shot wounds received from an Austrian, Johann Voss, while entering the Reichstag Building on Oct. 8. Haase was prosecuting Voss on a charge of extortion, and, it was alleged, the assault was committed from personal motives, though a political cause was sought. Haase was about to attack the Government severely, charging it with fostering sinister actions against the radicals through "murder bureaus."

Hugo Haase was one of the most notable figures of the German revolution, and personally a man of high integrity. He served several terms in the Imperial Reichstag, and was President of the German Social Democratic Party. He opposed the war, but served for a time at the front. When the Imperial Government fell in November, 1918,

Haase entered the first Coalition Cabinet, but shortly retired after disagreement with his colleagues. Thereafter he waged a strenuous political fight against the Ebert Government.

While preparations went forward to house the ex-Kaiser in his recently purchased mansion at Doorn, Holland, it was said he had secured several villas in the neighborhood for the large personnel with which he intended to surround himself. The first authentic photographs of the former Emperor and Empress since taking up their residence at Amerongen were obtained in October by a photographer concealed in a hay wagon; one of them, showing the Kaiser's changed appearance, is reproduced in the portrait section of this magazine.

With reference to questions asked in the British Parliament as to what measures had been taken by the Dutch Government to prevent the ex-Kaiser and ex-Crown Prince from leaving Holland, it was stated officially at The Hague on Oct. 29 that no measures had been taken to that end, as these two personages were considered entirely free to leave when they chose to do so. Any measures taken in guarding them, it was added, were only with a view to their personal safety and were paid for by them.

The former Crown Prince continued to reside on Wieringen Island. Frequent visits of important personages between Germany, Amerongen and Wieringen were noted and held to portend renewed activity among the German monarchist parties.

## The Most Famous German Prisoner

### Field Marshal von Mackensen's Release

THE Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference decided on Nov. 10, 1919, that Field Marshal von Mackensen, one of Germany's most famous Commanders on the Eastern front and the only one of his rank to become a prisoner of the Allies, should be permitted, in view of his advanced years and poor health, to return to Ger-

many from Saloniki, where he had been interned since Oct. 8.

This decision recalled one of the interesting and dramatic episodes of the war. When hostilities ceased in November, 1918, von Mackensen was in command of the German troops in Rumania. Menaced on his line of retreat by French and Serbian divisions on the Danube,

he decided to abandon Rumania and to march back into Germany at the head of his soldiers. With difficulty he made his way through the passes of the Carpathians, through which he had made a triumphal passage a few months before, and came down in good order toward the Hungarian plain. Meanwhile, however, the French General Henrys had signed at Belgrade with Count Karolyi, then Hungarian Premier, an armistice agreement which stipulated that the German Army in Rumania, together with its leader, should be disarmed and interned in Hungary.

Checked in his retreat, von Mackensen sought to attain by strategy what he could not gain by force. First of all, he declared that he could not be responsible if his soldiers, who, being "very undisciplined," (as a matter of fact they were highly disciplined,) refused to obey his orders. When asked to give his word of honor that he would not try to escape, his answers were ambiguous. His army, numbering some 80,000 men, rapidly melted away; the soldiers, profiting by the difficulties in the way of disarming and interning so large a force, departed bag and baggage on their own trains.

Then came news that von Mackensen himself, who was residing at the Château de Foth, the property of Count Karolyi, near Budapest, was preparing for flight. Colonel Vix, who commanded the French Mission at Budapest, on hearing these tidings toward the end of December, at once asked permission from Belgrade to detain him, as the armistice had stipulated, and asked for troops to effect his arrest. From Belgrade General Henrys ordered four squadrons of spahis in the Temesvar to proceed at once to Foth. Soon afterward special trains bore the spahis, under the command of Colonel Guespereau, to their destination. Meanwhile the surveillance of the château, which had been intrusted to Lieutenant Genevrier, was drawn closer; but von Mackensen's baggage had already been sent ahead, while his own departure was fixed at 5 o'clock in the morning. There was not a moment to be lost.

Lieutenant Genevrier left Budapest by automobile Dec. 30 at 10 o'clock in the evening. Arriving at 11, he posted his

agents in the shrubbery around the castle and cut all the telephone wires that connected von Mackensen with his headquarters in Budapest. According to the schedule communicated to him, the spahis were due to reach Budapest at midnight. Through poor railway service they did not arrive until 4 or 5 in the morning. In an hour the two divisions that had reached the Hungarian capital marched to Foth. Meanwhile the long delay had upset all the calculations of Genevrier, who with intense expectation watched all night for the spahis to appear. Hiding under a balcony, Genevrier heard one of von Mackensen's officers attempt to ring up Budapest three times, curse the telephone girl when he received no answer, and strike the telephone—whose wires had been cut—with his fist.

Genevrier's situation became embarrassing and delicate. Fearing that von Mackensen's Hungarian guard might detect his presence and give the alarm to the prisoner, who would at once take flight by motor car, he conceived the bold plan of seeking out that guard himself, allaying their suspicions, and holding them in converse until the arrival of the expected troops. This project met with complete success. Representing himself as a French officer charged with a mission at Vacs, a small town not far from Foth, he explained in very decent German that his automobile had broken down, and asked the guard to send some men to aid his chauffeur—who was in the secret—to find the imaginary trouble. Meanwhile he kept the Hungarian officer diverted and amused by his conversation until about a quarter after 8.

Hearing at last the sound of hoof-beats, for which his strained ears had so long been listening, he rose, smiled to his host, and said: "Lieutenant, I thank you for your hospitality. I am off now. My mission has been fulfilled." "Where are you going?" asked the Hungarian officer. Lieutenant Genevrier opened the door and showed the Hungarian officer the spahis already posted in the park. He then left the astounded officer and went to Colonel Guespereau to report to him that von Mackensen was still in the château.

Guespereau at once demanded to see

the German Field Marshal. Furious, von Mackensen refused to see him. Guespereau insisted. Von Mackensen sent word that he was a prisoner of the Hungarian Government, and that he recognized no other authority. Guespereau still insisted, and refused an offer to speak with one of von Mackensen's officers. "I have orders to see Marshal von Mackensen," he replied inflexibly, "and I will see him, with or without his will." At last von Mackensen gave way. Seated at his table in an apartment on the first floor, he growled surlily when Guespereau appeared on the threshold: "Bonjour, Monsieur!" Guespereau answered him, then immediately withdrew and posted his spahis in an iron ring around the château; a French officer was placed in the room adjoining that of von Mackensen to watch his every movement.

A few days later, on Jan. 6, 1919, a special train bore the German Field Marshal to the château of Count Chotek, (brother of the wife of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, assassinated at Serajevo in 1914,) in the surroundings of Temesvar. According to the terms of the armistice the Marshal could be interned only on Hungarian territory. Until early in October von Mackensen remained at this place. He was then transferred to Saloniiki, where he and his officers were installed in a large and comfortable house opposite the French aviation field and overlooking the Aegean Sea. None of the allied officers or troops saluted him when he walked along the streets. Finally, on Nov. 10, the Supreme Council at Paris released him, a disillusioned and broken man of 70, who had ended a brilliant military career gloriously. [See illustration, Page 443.]

## Terrible Privations in Central Europe

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

[CORRESPONDENT OF THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN]

*This brief account of one British observer's impressions was written in October, 1919, and covers four months of the Summer and Autumn. The further privations of the Winter were still to come.*

THE most convincing accounts of the distress in Central Europe have come from travelers who went out deliberately to report upon it. I, on the other hand, in a sojourn of nearly four months, saw only so much of the misery as forced itself on my notice. After spending two days of my first week in visiting the poorer quarters of Vienna, I confess that I consciously fled from any further evidence of the efficacy of our blockade. The political and intellectual consequences of war and famine were for me absorbingly interesting, and in sheer cowardice I turned away my eyes from the unbearable physical misery which I should have witnessed if I had continued those first visits to soup kitchens, working-class schools, and hospitals.

One might flee from these sights, but none the less they lay in wait daily, almost hourly, for any traveler with eyes

and ears. What impressed me most was not the misery of those who had gone under, but the signs of poverty and decayed vitality among people who normally are comfortable. I frequented in Vienna a pleasant but rather cheap and homely restaurant near several big Government offices. Many of its habitués were Foreign Office clerks. After two or three visits the atmosphere began to depress me. I was almost the only guest who sat alone; the others were all in groups of two or three. And yet the room was nearly silent, and no one stayed very long. One day I was so impressed that I had the curiosity to watch narrowly for an hour. I was literally the only guest who took more than one dish, and during that hour I neither heard a ripple of laughter in a big full room nor saw a smile. This was among middle-class people, mostly young, in

what used to be the gayest city of the Continent. I read next day a documented article in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* on "The Misery of the Intellectual Proletariat." The plain fact was that these officials were all of them half-starved, and literally so poor that they could not afford to buy a bare sufficiency of food.

A similar impression came to me one day in Lodz. I was taken to see a model school, with a kindergarten, subsidized by the wife of a multi-millionaire mill-owner. The children were those of foremen, engineers, and managers. My guide took me to it as one of the few happy and creditable sights in that starving and workless town. The children, who were washed in the school, were spotlessly clean (only the well-to-do can be clean where soap is almost unobtainable), and many of them were pretty. They sang for me, but I noticed that after the first few bars most of them fell silent. It was an action song. Healthy children make vigorous movements, and usually overdo them. These children, with the wan, pinched faces, and the voices that died away to a whisper, faintly agitated their hands in the symbol or reminiscence of a movement. Hunger and fatigue had taught them to economize energy.

Every one knows by now that the working classes in Vienna are three-quarters starved, and would have starved completely but for the admirable organization of soup kitchens by that most humane and kindly city. There was much more food in Warsaw and Lodz when I was there, but also there was much less efficient relief. The glimpse that I had in two days of two industrial towns in Saxony suggested that they were only a little less poverty-stricken than Vienna. What few seem to realize, however, is that the rural districts are also in acute distress. In the Polish countryside, for example, there was a sufficiency of bread and potatoes, but even when the peasants owned a cow or a pig their children never tasted milk or bacon. The reason was obvious when I discovered that the average money wage of an adult laborer for a whole year would just have sufficed, at the prices then ruling, to buy two coarse shirts or one pair of rough

boots. The children in these villages, even in cold weather, were only half clothed, and the bedding in most of the cottages consisted largely of sacking.

Vienna was a nightmare. It was pitiable to see the swarms of half-naked children who waited outside the city for the trains coming from Hungary (at that time Hungary had food), and ran beside them along the line for hundreds of yards, crying "Bitte, ein Stück Brod." Nor shall I ever forget the sight of women during a Communist riot, gathering, actually under rifle-fire, the coal from an overturned cart, while others cut a policeman's horse, that had been shot, into butcher's meat in the middle of the Ring.

But Vienna was not the worst. The eastern border zone of Poland, which the Cossacks burned and devastated as they retreated in 1915, was in the grip of literal famine.

Almost every shop in Pinsk was closed when I was there in March; there was nothing to sell. I went into the one co-operative store which remained open out of five, to discover what stock it had. It was selling salt, and absolutely nothing else. For days the orphanage and the almshouse had been without bread or fuel. When I pointed to the distant woods and asked why no one fetched fuel from them, the answer came that the horses had all been eaten up, and the two or three still left were too weak to walk. Most of the poorer families were living on potatoes, carrots, or chestnuts. Typhus was raging in the town, and still more severely in the villages. It was no uncommon thing for the poor to fall dead in the street from mere exhaustion as they staggered round to beg; I saw two such cases myself in one morning.

The villages were in worse case than the towns, and peasants, in groups of ten or twenty, would journey a hundred miles and back to buy flour. That is no guess estimate. I met such a party myself. The worst part of the case was that only a limited use could be made of the dilapidated railway to pour in supplies, for all its rolling stock was needed for the insensate war against the Bolsheviks.

# Desperate Conditions in Austria

## Personnel of the New Cabinet

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 18, 1919]

THE makeup of the reorganized Austrian Cabinet, the acceptance of which by the National Assembly was noted in a Vienna cablegram of Oct. 17, was given as follows by the Neue Freie Presse:

Chancellor and Foreign Minister—Dr. KARL RENNER.  
Vice Chancellor—JODOK FINK.  
Secretary of the Interior—MATTHIAS ELDERSCH.  
Minister of Justice—Dr. RUDOLF RAMEK.  
Secretary of Military Affairs—Dr. JULIUS DEUTSCH.  
Minister of Finance—Dr. RICHARD REISCH.  
Secretary of Agriculture—JOSEF STOCKLER.  
Secretary of Commerce—JOHANN ZERDIK.  
Secretary of Transportation—LUDWIG PAUL.  
Secretary for Social Administration—FERDINAND HANUSCH.  
Secretary of Food Supplies—Dr. JOHANN LOEWENFELD-RUSS.  
Secretary for Constitutional and Administrative Reforms—Prof. Dr. MICHAEL MAYR  
Under Secretary of Education—OTTO GLOCKEL.  
Under Secretary for Cults—WILHELM MIKLAS.  
Under Secretary for Justice—Dr. ARNOLD EISLER.  
Under Secretary for Military Affairs—Dr. ERWIN WAISS.  
Under Secretary for Social Administration—JOSEF RESCH.  
Under Secretary of Commerce—Dr. WILHELM EILLENBOGEN.  
Under Secretary for Health—Dr. JULIUS TANDLER.

By the end of October all reports from Austria pronounced the situation well-nigh desperate. It threatened the existence of the Government. The former Austrian Empire, now confined within the narrow boundaries of one of its shorn provinces, was dependent for food and coal upon none too friendly neighboring countries, and drifted helplessly toward bankruptcy. The war appeared to have shattered Austria beyond repair.

"Vienna is a changed city," wrote a correspondent from that capital. "The

outer shell remains as beautiful as ever, the Stefansturm still raises its proud head as heretofore, the palaces still gleam in the sunshine, the Danube is still blue; but the old gayety is gone, the Ringstrasse lacks its old-time animation, the children seem to have forgotten how to laugh and play, and poverty and want haunt the streets. Demobilized soldiers in rags tramp the thoroughfares, pictures of misery, begging as they go." The correspondent added that there remained practically no coal, and quoted food prices as having reached staggering figures. With Bolshevism fostered by the distress and unrest among the masses, those still hoping for a rehabilitation of the country could see no other means but a union with Germany, a step banned by Versailles.

Meantime, the Government proceeded from one temporary or dubious expedient to another in attempts to pacify the discontented. On Sept. 13 an order was issued expelling 130,000 war refugees, mostly Galician Jews. These unfortunate people were unable to return to their devastated homes. On the same date the Government refused to accede to Hungary's demand for the extradition of Bela Kun, the former Communist dictator of Budapest. A message of the 29th stated that the famous Skoda arms and munition works had been nationalized, and a new council of six Czechs and three Frenchmen had been named to conduct the factory.

The fiscal year which ended Oct. 1 disclosed that the Government had spent 8,441,000,000 kronen, while its total income was 3,444,000,000. The deficit was met by printing paper money, so that the krone sold for 1 cent American money, though normally worth 20 cents. Driven by the prospect of widespread starvation in the capital during the coming Winter, the City Council passed

a resolution on Oct. 17 appealing to America for assistance. Further urgent appeals were dispatched by Dr. Adolph Lorenz, the famous surgeon, and Mrs. Albert Halstead, wife of the American Commissioner. Mrs. Halstead wrote on Nov. 14 that 2,500,000 persons were in sore straits, and that death from cold faced the children unless warm clothing was provided. On Oct. 25 the announcement was made that Dr. Giest, organizer of the American work for children's relief in Vienna, had been appointed food dictator for the Winter months. Over a million inhabitants of Vienna would thus come under his care. By Nov. 12 conditions had become so much worse that deaths of new-born infants and their mothers, from too low a temperature even in the hospitals, had become distressing.

The Government was rumored to be contemplating the desperate experiment of a dissolution of the Austrian Republic, whereupon each constituent province would proclaim its union with Germany. It was said the People's Guards, as the new Austrian Army was termed, would support the upheaval, since the various

allied commissions, except those engaged in purely charitable work, had done nothing but draft reports and waste public funds, which irritated the Viennese in the face of onsweping bankruptcy and beggary. At celebrations of the anniversary of the founding of the Austrian Republic at Vienna on Oct. 14 gloomy speeches predicting a collapse were delivered. The Burgomaster of Gratz declared "German-Austrian workmen will never abate their demand for union with Germany." Two merchants of Vienna, J. Henry Kuhn and John L. Geggenhofer, who had arrived in New York with passports numbered one and two, confirmed, on Nov. 16, the serious conditions in Austria as due mainly to lack of coal, food, and raw materials. Mr. Kuhn said the Hungarians had spent millions of crowns in vain propaganda to "bolshevise" the Austrian farmers and workmen. He added that since the regions of Austria's former food supply were now cut off, and her farmers could produce only enough for three months' consumption, the majority of his countrymen would like Austria to become an American province.

## Poland's War With the Bolsheviki

### Protests Against Treaty Articles

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 15, 1919]

**I**N a long statement before the Polish Diet on Nov. 13 M. Paderewski, discussing the war against the Bolsheviki, said that Poland's sacrifices had been heavy, but that the effort was indispensable for the security of the present and future generations. It was impossible, he declared, to make peace with the Bolsheviki. He was loudly acclaimed when he thanked the countries which had assured Poland's independence—France, England, Italy, the United States and Japan—and paid tribute to the patriotic spirit of the Poles in America for the aid which they had sent the new republic.

Important manifestations occurred shortly before Oct. 8 at Lemberg in

favor of the absolute reunion of all Eastern Galicia to Poland, and against the establishment of any Provisional Government of any kind. The division of Galicia into east and west, it was declared by prominent Poles at this time, was purely artificial, devised by the Austrian Government to foster antagonism between the Poles and the Ruthenians. Ruined financially and economically, Eastern Galicia could not exist independently, and must be annexed to a neighboring State. But annexation to any other State but Poland, it was alleged, would mean the strengthening of German influence and the weakening of Poland, which was Germany's main aim.

Municipal elections in Upper Silesia on Nov. 12 were watched with keen interest because of their bearing on the coming plebiscite. The returns indicated that the Poles had obtained 75 per cent. of the votes cast. The Pan-German organ of Upper Silesia, the Kastowitzer Zeitung, declared: "Upper Silesia is lost to us." Polish organs held that a plebiscite was now unnecessary. On Nov. 13, however, the Supreme Council, after discussing these elections, drew up a note advising Germany to disregard them and to carry out the original plan of a plebiscite.

The main provisions of the arrangement concluded between Germany and Poland for the exchange of prisoners taken in connection with the insurrection in Galicia were as follows:

All prisoners taken by the Germans as a result of the revolt in Upper Silesia are to be released, and all sentences passed on such persons to be annulled. The Poles are to set free all German prisoners of war. Further, nobody is to be punished for military, political, or national action within the territories assigned to Poland or in those districts in which a plebiscite is to be held, when such action took place before the present agreement became binding. Persons released under this agreement are to be at liberty to return to the place where they formerly lived, and will not there be subject to any restrictions. The appointment of a joint commission to superintend the carrying into effect of the agreement is also provided for.

In an open letter addressed to the allied nations by leading citizens in Poland, a detailed statement of wrongs done Poland under the peace settlement and by hostile foreign opinion, especially in regard to the charges of Jewish massacres, was made for the world's judgment. This letter, which reflects Polish public opinion and is a review of Poland's whole case, protests against the loss of Danzig, the taking of a plebiscite in purely Polish districts, or in districts like Upper Silesia, where the majority element was Polish; the internationalization of the Vistula, which irrigates almost half of the territory of the Polish State; the atrocities of Galician Ukrainians against Polish nationals, and the widely advertised charge that Poland has tolerated Jewish massacres. The thirty-

four Jewish people killed at Lemberg, the letter states, were, according to verified reports, caught shooting at the Polish troops. Other stories of Jewish pogroms in Poland were invented by the Germans and other enemies of Poland. The statement concludes with an expression of deep gratitude to the allied nations for all that they have done for Poland, and an appeal to their good faith in repudiating false information circulated by Poland's worst enemies—Jews, Ukrainians, Germans, Bolsheviks, and others.

Prince Casimir Lubomirski, first diplomatic envoy from the new republic to the United States, arrived in New York on Oct. 10 with his family and legation staff. Discussing affairs in Poland, he said:

Food conditions are better in Poland, but we need wheat and raw materials, especially cotton and wool, so that the idle men can be put to work. It is also of vital importance that the Entente Allies send a strong neutral force into the countries where the people are to vote on which nation they shall be joined to, so that the vote shall be fairly conducted without pressure from the German element.

In Upper Silesia 75 per cent. of the people are unskilled and uneducated Polish workmen who are powerless to assert their rights because the land owners, mine owners, Magistrates, school teachers, and owners of all factories and industries are Germans. If a man were known to vote against them he and his family would be turned out of their home. Each day of delay in the ratification of the Peace Treaty by America is a day lost to the interests of Poland in these territories, and a day's gain by Germany.

When I left Poland the Constitution was being drawn up. When it is completed a President will be elected and a Government formed on a stable basis. I do not understand why any one should believe that the Jewish population, which forms about 11 per cent. of the total, will not have equal rights and liberties with the Polish people.

The Allies should establish a strong line through neutral territory from the Baltic to the Black Sea to keep out the Bolsheviks. We have about six millions of Poles in that country between the Rivers Dniester and Dvina, and have an army there to fight the Bolsheviks and assist the Allies. My sister hid in swamps and forests fourteen months after being driven from her home by the Bolsheviks, and her three sons were captured and have not been heard of since.

# Germans in the Baltic States

## How von der Goltz and Bermondt Gained a Foothold in Russia, and How They Were Driven Back

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 20, 1919]

THE attack upon Riga by the pro-German Russian commander, Colonel Avalov-Bermondt, on Oct. 8, and the establishment by him of a dictatorship at Mitau on behalf of a "General Russian Government," gave rise to a mass of comment in the foreign press concerning the origins of the movement initiated by him in Latvia and the manner in which the roots of the German military power, of which Avalov-Bermondt's force is said to be but a ramification, were implanted in the Baltic territory.

From the confused mass of comment and explanation certain things are clear. The formation of General von der Goltz's "Iron Division," which participated with Avalov-Bermondt in the assault on Riga, was practically the creation of a German official named Winnig, a Social Democratic Army Commissioner representing the Berlin Revolutionary Government, who was sent to the Baltic soon after the armistice to reorganize the German Eighth Army, which was already breaking up in confusion. The commander of this army, von Kalthen, was persuaded by Winnig to form a complete division of 6,000 men to fight the Bolsheviks. For this venture, however, only 600 volunteered. Appeals made by Winnig to the Prussian War Minister for reinforcements in the Baltic proved vain. Winnig then induced the Lettish Government, by working on its fears of the Bolshevik peril, to issue a charter conferring Lettish citizenship and full political rights on every German soldier who agreed to fight for a month on the Letts' behalf against the Bolsheviks. This charter occupies a very important position in the present developments in the Baltic. [For the text of this charter, see the November CURRENT HISTORY, Page 304.]

Five days after this document was signed, on Feb. 3, 1919, the Bolsheviks

occupied Riga. Armed with his charter, Winnig returned to Berlin and opened recruiting offices there while the German revolution was in full blast. His agents—though Winnig now asserts without his authority—told all prospective recruits that not only would they receive from the Lettish Government full rights of citizenship, as provided in the charter, but also inalienable grants of land for homestead construction, of which the charter made no mention. The rebellious soldiers in the army under von der Goltz subsequently based their refusal to evacuate Courland on these promises, which were not fulfilled.

### ARMY UNDER VON DER GOLTZ

Winnig's volunteers soon mounted up into the hundreds, and were sent off in large batches to Courland, where they were put under command of General von der Goltz, who had just come from Finland. At the end of January he found himself at the head of a small but ever-growing army, which was receiving, as it has received ever since, all the supplies it needed direct from Germany. Winnig was promoted to the post of "Imperial Army Commissioner for the East" and left the further development of the Baltic Province forces to others. He subsequently became Governor of East Prussia, in succession to the former Food Dictator, von Botocki.

After Winnig's departure, this Baltic army grew rapidly in size, and was splendidly armed and equipped. It was openly stated in *Vorwärts*, one of the pro-Government organs of Berlin, that the maintenance of von der Goltz's army was costing the Government 800,000 marks a day. After the armistice the allied Governments themselves asked von der Goltz to remain with his troops in the occupied territory for the sake of stabilizing the conditions there. Subse-

quently, after reports of their high-handed and arbitrary actions in connection with the Letts, whom they attacked, reached the Entente's ears, Germany was summoned to withdraw these troops. Ostensibly Germany endeavored to do this, but von der Goltz professed powerlessness to enforce evacuation, on the score of the promises of land grants previously made, and remained for many weeks with his forces in the occupied territory, despite the demands of the Entente and of his own Government. Many of the German soldiers, especially Bavarians, joined the pro-German Russian formations of Colonel Avalov-Bermondt, thus escaping from German jurisdiction. Meanwhile both the pay of von der Goltz's soldiers and full food supplies for his combined forces continued to arrive from Germany until the Entente menace of a renewal of the blockade brought Berlin to a realization of the seriousness of the situation created by the rebellious German Baltic troops.

#### GERMANY'S APPEAL

Following the receipt of the first ultimatum, sent by the Paris Supreme Council on Sept. 28 (the text of which was printed on Page 304 of *CURRENT HISTORY* for November), the German Government made public on Oct. 3, through the Wolff Telegraph Bureau, the following appeal to the troops of General von der Goltz:

Soldiers! You have read the last note of the Entente in respect to the evacuation of the Baltic States. The Entente threaten us with the resumption of the blockade, with the stoppage of credits, and with the refusal of the supply of raw materials. The Entente military authorities insist on a further advance into German territory, including the occupation of Frankfort.

The Government appeals for the last time to the conscience and patriotism of the German soldiers in the Baltic States. The Government has never denied that the German soldiers have been recruited under conditions which were not kept. We have not failed to explain to the Entente that for this reason unrest and indignation prevail among the German soldiers in the Baltic Provinces. But now a great deal is at stake. The nation will starve and national property will be lost if the German troops do not evacuate the Baltic States during this month. Those who do not want to be guilty of contributing to the ruin of their own nation

must bow before the stern necessity of the situation, and obey the order of the Government to evacuate the Baltic States.

The Government, in the interests of Germany, must not leave any doubt that it has used all the means at its disposal to enforce the evacuation. But it hopes that this appeal will suffice to convince the German soldiers that this is a case in which the interest of the whole nation is involved. Our opponents have raised the blockade, and it is for you to secure that this weapon of warfare which wrought more deadly havoc among our ranks than any other shall not be used again. Obey the order for evacuation.

The National Chancellor: BAUER.

The National Government: BELL, Dr. DAVID, ERZBERGER, GIESBERTS, Dr. MAYER, MUELLER, NOSKE, SCHLICKE, SCHMIDT.

Berlin, Oct. 3, 1919.

#### REPLY TO ENTENTE NOTE

The next day the following note was handed to General Nudant, the head of the Interallied Mission in Berlin, for transmission to the Supreme Council:

In answer to the note of Sept. 28, the German Government attaches the greatest importance to demonstrating the fact that it has been continually making the most energetic efforts to withdraw the troops from the Baltic district and Lithuania.

For that purpose it ordered, among other things, on Sept. 25, that such detachments of troops as might not obey the order to withdraw would be deprived of their pay, as well as of any claim to supplies in the future. And in order to prevent any possible sending of reinforcements the German frontier bordering on Courland was closed, and an order was given to fire upon the troops who might try to cross that line. Any dispatch of munitions was also strictly forbidden. General Count von der Goltz has been recalled from the east. In his place, until the complete execution of the return of the troops, General von Eberhardt has taken over the command of all the troops east of the German border. Finally, the German Government issued an appeal to the troops reminding them of their duty and impressively pointing out to them what incalculable dangers and sufferings they are bringing upon the heads of their fellow-nationals if they continue their disobedience.

All these measures should have protected the German Government, even in the judgment of the allied and associated Governments, from the unjustified reproach of employing the insubordination of the German troops as a pretext for letting its obligations as to the evacuation of the former Russian territory go

unfulfilled. The allied and associated Governments are sufficiently informed regarding the condition created in Germany by the Peace Treaty to be bound to admit that the German Government has no further military means of compulsion at its command.

So far as the entry of German troops into Russian formations is concerned, the German Government is decidedly opposed

ernment asks them to enter into a consultation with it on the necessary measures. For this purpose it proposes the immediate formation of a commission made up of German representatives on the one side and representatives of the allied and associated Governments on the other. It is the opinion of the German Government that this commission, after an examination of the situation, should have the task of working out measures and seeing to it that they are put into effect. The German Government begs that a commission about this matter be sent to it at once.

#### BISCHOFF'S PROCLAMATION

How little effect the German Government's appeal to its soldiers in the Baltic region had upon General von der Goltz's subordinates was indicated in the following proclamation by Major Bischoff, commander of the "Iron Division," made public in Mitau on Oct. 5:

##### Soldiers of the Iron Division!

The Entente has threatened the German Government with a renewal of the blockade of Germany if you do not evacuate Latvia. The Government calls to you, "Lay down your arms," as in November, 1918. Just as you were then deceived, so you are again being deceived.

In April you raised your voices before me against the shameful and annihilating peace. But it is only now that you see for the first time that the peace is intended to destroy the German people, not only economically and politically, but also physically. This peace treaty has a thousand paragraphs, and not one of them is capable of being carried out! Not a single one! Just as it today seizes upon Paragraph 292, tomorrow the Entente will seize upon another as a pretext to throttle the German people. Therefore, this threat of the Entente must not be allowed to frighten us, either. Compliance by us would not help our homeland, anyway. In a few days the same game would be begun again. Everything said by the Entente is a lie. The only time it does not lie is when it openly declares that it is striving to extirpate the German people with every means, even the most immoral.

In April the American Military Mission here in Mitau made it clear to me that the Iron Division ought to take Riga. At that time peace was established, even though not yet ratified. I ask the whole world, so far as it in general still possesses a spark of morality not suffocated by lies, whether, then, the Entente still has a right to use Paragraph 292 of the Peace Treaty against us. Nevertheless, it does so. So we wish to deprive it of the formal right to apply force to our Government and our home on our account.



REGION BETWEEN MITAU AND RIGA,  
WHERE GERMANS ARE ATTEMPTING  
TO RETAIN HOLD ON BALTIC STATES

to such action. And it has repeatedly made its opinion known to those concerned in no uncertain terms. It has never granted permission for such entries. The German Government has the firm desire to do all in its power to fulfill the obligation of evacuation. On the other hand, it is obliged to make a very sharp protest against the fact that the note of Marshal Foch contains threats regarding measures of compulsion calculated to cut off Germany's imports of foodstuffs through a renewal of the blockade. The allied and associated Governments can hardly have forgotten that it was the hunger blockade that was responsible, not only for the death of hundreds of thousands of women, children, and ill persons, but also, through the weakening of the ability to work because of chronic undernourishment, for no small part of the manifestations of disintegration under which Germany suffers so greatly at present. The German Government voices, rather, the confident expectation that the allied and associated Governments will recognize its good-will and therefore will refrain from using inhuman war measures against the German civilian population, which surely is not responsible for the conduct of the troops in the east.

But in order to give an opportunity to the allied and associated Governments to convince themselves of the extreme earnestness of its conduct the German Gov-

We want to put the land that we, and we alone, conquered, under the Russian flag. We want to help the Russians liberate their home from the scourge of humanity. You know that I am German and that I shall remain German to the last drop of my blood, so you will believe me when I say that you can follow me in this course without hesitation, and that I wish to work for Germany here, too, while helping our friends.

Side by side with the corps of Count Keller we wish to defend our rights, and, if it must be so, to win them again by fighting. If the Entente hinders us in doing this, too, it is merely looking for an excuse to strike the German people. So stand fast, soldiers of the Iron Division! And if the Englishman incites Letts and Estonians against us, then we will show that we are worthy of our name.

BISCHOFF,  
Commander of the Iron Division.

On learning of this proclamation, Gustav Noske, German Minister of Defense, told the National Assembly on Oct. 7 that Major Bischoff would be court-martialed for having defied the Government.

#### ALLIED ULTIMATUM

As there was no indication that the German forces in the Baltic region had taken the Government's appeal seriously, and as, in the meantime, the German-Russian troops of Colonel Avalov-Bermondt, including the Iron Division, began an assault upon Riga, the Supreme Council, after a week's deliberation, dispatched the following note to Berlin:

The allied and associated Governments have noted the intention formally expressed by the German Government in its note of Oct. 3 to undertake and to continue in the most energetic manner the withdrawal of its troops from the Baltic and Lithuanian regions. They also appreciate the nature of the measures taken to this effect by the German Government. When, however, the German Government affirms that the measures taken by it must absolve it from the accusation of having neglected to fulfill its obligations in honor bound, as fixed by the armistice clauses, it must be pointed out that, notwithstanding the repeated requests and remonstrances of the allied and associated Governments, the orders of the German Government were so long deferred that the said Government now declares that it is practically impossible for it to cause them to be carried out.

It is difficult not to believe that this delay was deliberately arranged to give the

results which the German Government now affects to deplore. It would appear to be really impossible to explain in any other manner its refusal to recall General von der Goltz, who was its official agent in the matter of creating the present situation—a situation characterized by overt resistance to the legitimate behests of the allied and associated Governments. Why was the recall of the General refused, although asked for three times? Having been called to Berlin not more than a day or two ago, why was he purposely sent back to his theatre of operations if not to complete (thanks to the authority of his official command) that organization which now allows the German Government to plead that the troops which have hitherto been paid, clothed, and transported by that Government, have now freed themselves from its authority?

Has General von der Goltz acted contrary to his instructions? If so, why was not his insubordination punished either by formal dismissal or by some other means? Unless the German Government furnishes more satisfactory explanations regarding this question than it has hitherto done, the allied and associated Governments will be unable to admit that the German Government has, in accordance with its affirmation, done all in its power to withdraw the German troops from the Baltic States. It has, moreover, transpired, from the latest news received from Latvia, that the situation has suddenly changed for the worse owing to the offensive undertaken by the Germans on Oct. 8, when they violated the German-Lettish zone, bombarded the Lettish positions with armored trains, airplanes, and asphyxiating (gas) shells, threatened the town of Riga, and brought about the formation in Courland of a German-Russian Government opposed to the established local Government.

In view of this state of affairs, the allied and associated Governments uphold the principle of the German Government's entire responsibility regarding the carrying out of the evacuation and intend to maintain, in their entirety, all the coercive measures announced by their telegram of Sept. 27, so long as the evacuation shall not have been finally undertaken and carried through with all desirable speed.

With the object, however, of assisting the execution of this operation and of assisting the German Government, the allied and associated Governments agree to send out allied representatives whose mission shall be: (a) To take cognizance of the measures decided on by the German Government for the purpose of regulating the conditions of evacuation, as also to suggest to it such measures as they may consider to be necessary. (b)

To exercise on the spot and with entire liberty of action an effective control over the execution of such measures. A general officer appointed by the allied and associated Governments will preside over the allied commission.

The suspension of the measures referred to in the telegram of Sept. 27 cannot be considered before such a general officer shall have informed the Supreme Council of the allied and associated Governments that the evacuation operations are proceeding normally. The German Government is requested to make its reply known as soon as possible. It is informed that the allied and associated Governments hold it responsible for any act of hostility against their representatives in the Baltic Provinces on the part of German troops.

#### GERMANY'S REPLY

The German Government's reply to this uncompromising communication was received by the representative of Marshal Foch on Oct. 16. It read as follows:

The allied and associated Governments for the first time on June 18 requested the German Government to evacuate the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania, while in May they had demanded, and, in spite of the German protest, insisted that the German troops should not be withdrawn from these regions.

The German Government has since done all in its power to carry out the withdrawal of the troops and to overcome the opposition of the troops who have been promised Lettish citizenship by the Lettish Government.

The German Government has withheld pay, food, and other supplies from the subordinate troops, and, further, has taken all necessary measures to prevent any munitions or reinforcements crossing the German frontier to the troops.

The German Government has not declined to recall Count von der Goltz, but only pointed out that this was a matter which concerned German internal affairs. As a matter of fact, Count von der Goltz was recalled, and it was only after a mutiny had broken out in the Iron Division soon after his departure that he decided to return to Mitau on his own responsibility. His return temporarily was tolerated by the German Government only because von der Goltz appeared to have sufficient authority with the mutinous troops to make them obey the Government's withdrawal order. He actually succeeded in inducing some of the troops to obey the order. But as his further endeavors were a failure, he was definitely recalled and ordered to come to Berlin.

Meanwhile General von Eberhardt took over the command as his successor.

The German Government has not recognized any new Government in the Baltic regions nor has it had any relations with such. It has strictly forbidden German soldiers to enlist in Russian formations, and broke up all connection with those who did so. There is not a single soldier among the Russian troops in the Baltic Provinces over whom the German Government has any power of command. In General Avalov-Bermondt's recent offensive no troops under German command participated.

General Avalov-Bermondt's political and military designs are not in any way approved by the German Government.

Germany has no warlike designs whatever either against the Lettish or Russian peoples.

The German Government takes note that the allied and associated Governments intend to send an interrailed mission to the Baltic States, and requests that this mission may be dispatched as soon as possible, and that it may make a brief stay at Berlin for an interview with the German authorities there.

The mission will, on its own judgment, surely come to the conviction that the reproaches made against the German Government are not justified.

#### BERMONDT THANKS GERMANS

Meanwhile Colonel Avalov-Bermondt, after establishing himself firmly in Mitau, announced his intention of restoring order in the parts of Western Russia freed of Bolshevism in the name of Great Russia. On Oct. 7 he transmitted to the German representative at Mitau the following note, embodying high tribute to the services of the German troops against the Bolsheviks:

To the National German Government:

Supported by the Central Council for West Russia, organized Oct. 7, I have, in the name of Great Russia, taken over the task of restoring legal authority and discipline in the parts of West Russia freed of Bolshevism.

As the representative of the executive power of the Russian State, I do not wish to overlook this opportunity to express Russia's thanks to the National German Government for the memorable services performed by the German troops in saving the Russian border provinces from Bolshevism. Following the withdrawal of the German troops I shall take over the protection of the territory occupied by my troops. I shall give special attention to insuring the transportation from here of the German troops.

I have every confidence that, in the

work of crushing Bolshevism and its widespread disintegrating influence in the Russian State, I shall find in all nations the comprehension necessary to wipe out this menace to the world and to insure peace and development in freedom to all states.

AVALOV-BERMONDT, Colonel.

Senator PAHLEN, President of the Central Council for West Russia.

#### LETTS DRIVE BACK INVADERS

Bermondt's projects, however, built on the possession of a military base, were embarrassed by the Letts' obstinate resistance at Riga, their refusal to accept an armistice, and the receipt of a wireless ultimatum from the British naval commander at Libau to evacuate Thorenberg, the village west of Riga where he had established himself. In reply he said that, after successfully safeguarding a strategic base for an offensive against the Bolsheviks, he had offered the Letts an armistice on Oct. 10, and requested support for its acceptance to avoid further bloodshed. Premier Ullman, however, head of the Lettish Government, complained on Oct. 22 that German troops in regular regimental formation were being allowed to cross the frontier and participate in hostilities against the Lettish Army. Major Bischoff, he assert-

ed categorically, was in charge of the offensive against Riga.

At this time the Letts were resisting the German attacks successfully. Up to Oct. 27 the Germans had not succeeded in crossing the Dvina, and held only two out of the ten districts of Courland. An attack on the northern defenses of Riga was repulsed on Nov. 8, and the Letts, advancing under cover of a bombardment, drove the troops of Bermondt from the immediate suburbs of Riga. In an offensive which continued four days the Lettish troops pushed back these forces several miles along the entire line, freeing Riga completely from the menace of the invading forces.

Shortly afterward (Nov. 15) it was reported by the *Lokal-Anzeiger's Königsberg* (East Prussia) correspondent that Avalov-Bermondt's troops were retreating on Mitau, and that his so-called Western Central Council and headquarters staff were preparing to evacuate Mitau and retire to Shavle. The Lettish troops were encircling Mitau. On Nov. 19 it was announced semi-officially at Berlin that General von Eberhardt, in Mitau, was arranging for the immediate return of the troops from the Baltic States to Germany by rail.

## The Red Terror in Kiev

### One of the Blackest Chapters in Bolshevik History—Seven Months of Rule by Murder and Torture

**W**HEN one of General Denikin's armies drove the Bolshevik forces from Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, in the first days of September, 1919, the world learned for the first time of the horrors which the inhabitants had suffered under a small group of murderous Red leaders. The Bolsheviks had regained control of Kiev in January, and had terrorized the whole population for about 200 days. On every one of those 200 days of Bolshevik occupation there were executions under the orders of the Chresvechayna

(commissions for combating the counter-revolution). When a *London Times* correspondent reached the city by airplane from Warsaw on Sept. 17 he found it a place of horrors.

"I do not know," he wrote, "of any other town in which the Bolsheviks have left such ghastly traces of their fiendish work as they have here. No one knows how many persons perished, but reckoning by the number of bodies which have been found (buried or unburied), there must have been at least 2,000 victims. The anatomical theatre of the university

was used as a mortuary for the executed dead, and the volunteer army when they entered the city found about 200 corpses lying there in a state of horrible putrefaction. In a room in a private house 140 more were found, locked up and left to rot.

"Even today, a fortnight after the delivery, a terrible odor, which chloride only partially stifles, invades one's nostrils continually in certain parts of the town. Among the 'sights' of Kiev are the houses where the two Chresvechaynas, the one for Kiev, the other for the Ukraine, held their sittings and tortured their victims, either to wring information from them or, as it appears in many cases, simply from a fiendish pleasure in human suffering.

"The Kiev Chresvechayna, which was accounted the most cruel, sat in a house in the street of Sadovaia, a gloomy by-road, darkened by the thick foliage of horse-chestnut trees. Behind it is a small garden, in which is a shallow pit not five feet deep. From this were taken the bodies of 124 persons, who were murdered a few days before Kiev was captured—one night's work. Many of the bodies were mutilated by having pieces of skin in the shape of epaulets cut from their shoulders and strips from the thighs in imitation of the stripes on an officer's trousers.

"At one side of the garden is a garage or coachhouse. This was used as the place of execution. The walls are pitted with revolver bullets and splashed with red stains; the floor is still glutinous; the smell makes one turn away sickened after a very short inspection. An English governess, Miss Billingsley, who lives in this street, has told me of the awful shrieks which could be heard coming from this house night after night. The house itself is littered with an almost comic collection of objects, apparently looted by members of the committee from private houses. There are furniture of all kinds, clocks, toys, a bird cage, photographs, gramophones, books, heaped together anyhow. The first volume picked at hazard from a big pile proved to be a Tauchnitz copy of Mark Twain's 'The Innocents Abroad.'

"The house of the Ukraine Committee has a similar slaughterhouse, also a garage. This is, if anything, worse than the other. There is an inspection pit, which was used as a drain; from it there comes up the horrible reek of blood. A common chopping block beside it is soaked in it. An old bayonet lies on the floor near by. Twelve bodies were found in the garden here, stuffed anyhow into a pit and barely covered with earth."

The strangest part of the Kiev episode is the fact that a handful of soldiers—perhaps 5,000 in all—and about 200 men, none of them educated, and almost all newcomers to the city, the majority of them dissipated and diseased, were able to hold for seven months a population of 200,000 in slavish subjection. One reason was that on entering the city the Bolsheviks searched every drawer, cupboard, and cranny for firearms; another was that the people were constantly in a state of semi-starvation. A Kiev journalist, Jean Kalinnikov, who has long studied Bolshevik methods, adds the further explanation that the Moscow Government has worked out a deliberate system of rendering a population supine by terror.

A special correspondent of The London Morning Post, who visited Kiev, wrote on Sept. 19:

#### LATSIS AT WORK

"In Kiev the man who performed this all-vital work for Lenin and Trotzky was a brother-in-law of the notorious Peters of Petrograd. His name was Latsis, and he is a Lett by birth. Soon after the Bolshevik occupation in January he was sent on from Moscow to become chief of the Commission for the Suppression of Counter-revolution in Kiev—the Kiev Chresvechayna. Concerning the man's earlier antecedents I was not able to get any exact information, except that he was a Jew and had been identified with the Bolshevik movement from the beginning. However, I have a photograph of Latsis, seated in the middle of a group of all the members of the Kiev Counter-revolution Commission. Short, dark, untidily dressed, his countenance seems to express a kind of cheery confidence, the

expression of a man on the crest of the wave and sure of himself. His eyes have in them a quality of rat-like intelligence, and Latsis was intelligent; at least, he was intelligent enough to have contributed an analytical article to the Bolshevik publication, the Red Knife, on the subject of tortures. At any rate, it was Latsis who was the real power in the Bolshevik control of Kiev, and it was he who manufactured the Red Terror for the city's 200,000 people.

"Latsis's system forbade a beginning of his operations until about nightfall. At the end of the day he would gather around him, generally at No. 5 Sadovaia—a great, gloomy house that had once been a private residence, and is set darkly within the shade of a dense bank of horse chestnut trees—the other members of the Kiev Commission, and there plan out the evening's work. I was told that there was always much immoderate drinking at these sessions, and in poking about the premises I came upon several barrels filled with empty wine and vodka bottles. Latsis himself, however, had the reputation of being temperate. It would be about 10 o'clock, or a little later, when four or five automobiles would set out from the Sadovaia establishment, scattering in several directions, and roaring through the streets on a round of visits to search homes for concealed firearms or food, to drag back some so-called suspect for examination, or to make one of Latsis's arbitrary 'arrests,' which were reckoned equivalent to a death sentence.

"A woman in Kiev, who lived near the house in Sadovaia, told me that night after night for nearly seven months she turned positively ill at the sound of those Chresvechayna motors. The searches, under Latsis's handling, contributed not a little to the creation of the terror. Very skillfully he endowed them with the element of surprise. For instance, in Kiev all through the Bolshevik régime there were Dr. Lipinsky, Professor of Neurology in Kiev University, and his family. Lipinsky was a man whom the Bolsheviks, on account of his private wealth, his well-appointed home, his prestige, his position, and influence, would have liked to do away with. There were elements of

danger in Dr. Lipinsky. But Latsis could not quite bring himself to arrest and accuse the professor. Lipinsky maintained a hospital, of which he was the chief physician. It was the best conducted institution of its kind in the city—a fact which Latsis was entirely capable of realizing. \* \* \*

#### TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS

"Nothing could have been more disgraceful than the so-called 'examinations' conducted by Latsis and his underlings at the house in Sadovaia. A 'suspect,' torn from his bed in the middle of the night, attired without dignity, would be dragged there to the principal room of the dwelling. Perhaps six or eight of the Chresvechayna would be ranged at one side of a long, plain board table; not infrequently some were intoxicated, some under the influence of drugs, some throughout the proceedings fondling a woman of his fancy as lewd as himself. Latsis, always, it appears, quite collected, would preside. From such a tribunal none expected justice; life seemed to depend upon the whim of some distorted, irresponsible brain; an 'examination' was, as Latsis desired it should be, a first-class torture in itself. Frequently 'suspects' were freed, sometimes they were tortured, not infrequently they were taken to the stable in the rear and summarily executed. Once within the Sadovaia portals there was nought one could do but pray; there was no guessing one's fate. All the city knew this, and a summons in the night—thousands of examinations were made—brought all the terror of a death decree.

#### ROSA SCHWARTZ'S CRIME

"There was one episode at the Sadovaia place that contributed not a little to Kiev's paralysis of fear. Among the number of celebrated scholars included in the Faculty of the University of Kiev was Dr. Florinsky, one of the greatest of all authorities on S'avic history and law. The city was very proud of Dr. Florinsky, and he enjoyed enormous respect and influence there. At the time of the coming of the Bolsheviks, Dr. Florinsky, like a great number of the other

professors in the university, did not flee, because it was reported then, and generally believed, that Lenin and Trotzky had abandoned their policy of attempting to exterminate the intellectuals, and were, on the contrary, trying to coax them into the movement. He stayed on. During the early days of the occupation the Florinskys underwent the 'search,' but nothing worse. However, upon a night in June, a Chresvechayna motor stopped before the professor's home, and a young man routed him from his bed.

"The doctor insisted upon dressing carefully, and that irritated the youthful agent of Latsis. About 2 in the morning they reached the house in Sadovaia, where Florinsky was to be 'examined.' The usual gathering was there, including, as usual, Rosa Schwartz, a Kiev prostitute, who was used as an agent by Latsis, and was in effect an unofficial member of the Chresvechayna. Dr. Florinsky entered—a tall, grave, white-haired figure.

"The doctor was a man of a ripeness and dignity not easily to be exaggerated. Schwartz, a dark, impudent type of woman, bedecked with diamonds, for she always wore much jewelry, demanded the privilege of examining the professor. Latsis agreed. At length she put a certain question; I did not learn what the question was, but at it Florinsky stiffened and drew erect. The situation is readily conceived; the embodiment of all that is noble in the world on the grill before all that is ignoble in the world, the prostitute harrying the saint. The historian's reply was slow in coming. At Schwartz's elbow lay a small revolver which she invariably kept by her. In a sudden spasm of emotion she fired, and Florinsky was dead, and within a few moments his body had been cast into the dark garden behind. Mme. Florinsky subsequently recovered the body by making a payment of 25,000 rubles.

"The news of Florinsky's death staggered Kiev. If they would kill him none could be immune! Would the Schwartz woman suffer? Not at all! To the Chresvechayna life was less than nothing. To enter the house in Sadovaia was death. Thus went the talk after the

shooting of Professor Florinsky, which Latsis made not the smallest effort to excuse or conceal. The episode and the reaction it produced were all in accordance with the plan which he had been sent from Moscow to carry out. It intensified the enslaving fear of the Red Terror in Kiev."

#### METHODS OF TORTURE

There were many forms of torture used in Kiev, but in a rough way they are divisible into three classes. First, beatings were employed. Second, there were decrees of executions, some of which the Chresvechayna intended eventually to carry out, and did carry out, some of which were merely threats to terrify. Third, there were what may be most conveniently termed the "confinement" tortures. Of these The Morning Post correspondent wrote:

"In this group of cases the underlying idea was to imprison a person, who was entirely uncertain whether he or she was later to be killed, with the bodies of others who had already met death. Frequently, as in the case of Mme. Vasilyra, the subject of the torture was compelled to witness the execution of the persons with whose lifeless, often mutilated, bodies he or she was later to be confined. The imprisonment was sometimes made in a tiny room—always the room where the execution had occurred. Some of these rooms I have visited—at the houses in Sadovaia Institutskaia. These were windowless holes with spattered walls, and floors still glistening, despite heavy overlays of chloride of lime, with blood, and none too sure to the foot by reason of human particles as yet unremoved. The mind recoils from the thought of what those rooms must have been on a hot Russian night, when powder smoke still clung heavily in the air, and the very rafters still echoed with dying screams.

"But not always were the imprisonments made in these rooms. Latsis, in creating the Terror, had variety. And a Chresvechayna device was to imprison a person condemned to the 'confinement' torture in a coffin with the corpses of those whom he or she had a few moments

before seen die. These imprisonments would last from twenty-four to ninety-six hours. Dr. Kraynsky, Professor of Psychology in Kiev University, who heads a committee appointed by the Faculty of the university to investigate the entire subject of tortures and executions carried out by the Bolsheviks, told me, and Countess Natalie Medivedieff, a Russian Red Cross sister, confirmed his statement as he made it, that he knew of more than thirty cases of insanity in Kiev as a result of the 'confinement' tortures.

#### EXECUTIONS

"Actual execution, however, was the great weapon of the Terror. Apparently executions were carried out in two ways. Upon occasions victims were struck over the head with a heavy, sharp instrument that caused profuse bleeding and also instant death, but more frequently simple shooting was employed. Most of the executions were carried out by Chinese troops, but not all.

"There are aspects of the Red Terror in Kiev which I have ignored. For example, a great number of bodies were thrown by the Chresvechayna into the operating theatre of the medical school of Kiev University; every one in the city knew the bodies were there; boys used to lift each other up to look through the iron palings at the gruesomeness within. Soon after the day when the Bolsheviks arrived until the day they left the anatomical room of the university was a known horror pit.

"The entire story seems horribly unreal. One has a sense that none of the chapter I have recorded could possibly have happened in our day. But it did happen. Professor Lipinsky has declared to me that it happened. Dr. Dietrichs, the Professor of Surgery in Kiev University, has affirmed it; so, too, has Professor Kraynsky, the psychologist, and the very cool-eyed Countess Medivedieff of the Russian Red Cross. There were others, including General Bredov, Denikin's representative in Kiev. I could go on at much greater length, but it is not necessary. The case is this: A handful of alien commissioners, with only a most slender garrison at their command, held

the 200,000 people of Kiev in utter subjugation for seven months. They did it by propagating fear, by scientifically creating, with methods in large degree indicated from Moscow, a Red Terror.

#### NO RUSSIAN LEADERS

"Who are the Bolsheviks of today? That was a question to which by many means, direct and roundabout, I tried to find an answer. In the first place, as Kiev knew the Bolsheviks, they are utter aliens—Letts, Finns, internationalized Jews, Rumanians, anything except actual Russians. Rokowsky, the nominal head of the Bolshevik Government in Kiev, was a Jew, born a Bulgarian, naturalized as a Rumanian; Latsis, head of the Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution in Kiev, and in reality the master of the city, was a Lett—a Lettish Jew—and there were a few Jews in the movement who had been in America long enough to obtain citizenship.

"In the leadership of Bolshevism in Kiev there was not a single bona fide Russian, not a single man who had ever been known of or heard of in the city before the occupation. It was an alien invasion, a crowd of strangers, who came in to strang'e the town. And it was aliens whom the Rokowsky-Latsis gang used for the chief work of the terrorization that paralyzed and atrophied the population—that is to say, Chinese mercenaries. Kiev for seven months was under the domination of a group of complete strangers. The workmen of Kiev, the thousands employed in the foundries and sugar refineries were, practically speaking, entirely dissociated from the Bolshevik movement.

"At the beginning, in January, 1919, many of the workers seemed to see a possibility that through Bolshevism they might obtain easier hours and a larger remuneration than they had been receiving. Essentially their attitude was for a time noncommittal and neutral. But this period soon passed. The factories closed; food rose to impossible prices; horrors began to become commonplaces. 'We thought we saw through to the light,' said a petition presented by 30,000

workmen to General Bredov, Denikin's representative, when he entered the city, 'but we did not see then the hand that was holding the light.' However, there was an element in Kiev that did join up with the Bolsheviks. Professor Kraynsky told me that about 200 strangers came into the city to enforce the communistic order, that these aliens had about 5,000 troops at their command, and that they could incidentally call upon something like 500 other persons in Kiev.

"These other persons were not laboring people at all, nor were they persons with any definite trade. In the main, they were shop assistants, economic ne'er-do-wells, rolling stones of industry, who saw in the Bolshevik invasion a chance that the normal ways of life did not offer. Latsis used them, but precisely in so far as they served his ends. They were, according to all testimony, unwitting dupes of the movement, and the only actual Kiev residents in the smallest way involved.

"Three professors of the university escaped with their lives because they were medical men. I have it upon the testimony of all three of these: First, that with the exception of a very few of the prime leaders, like Latsis, those who exercised control in Kiev were syphilitic; second, that a considerable number were addicted to the use of drugs; third, that they were alcoholic. In short, there is responsible testimony that there was very little normality in the entire Bolshevik Government of Kiev. The head of the Government, Rokowsky, was a fop and a fool and a laughing stock."

#### TWO IRISHWOMEN'S STORY

Miss Eva and Miss Eileen Healy, daughters of the former member of Parliament, Thomas Healy, were among the

forty or so British residents of Kiev during these six months of Bolshevism. They gave the following statement to a Reuter correspondent:

Our first experience of Bolshevik liberty was at Kiev in 1918, when over 3,000 officers were shot only for the crime of defending their country against the Germans. We saw long rows of corpses clad in underlinen in the square before the palace, inside of which drunken "comrades" were dancing and capering about the place. There were more rows of corpses in the public gardens of all ages, from mere boys to old men of seventy.

The last six months, when the majority of the members of the Kiev Chresvechayna were always under the influence of drink and drugs, transcended all conceivable awfulness. At every Chresvechayna huge heaps of empty spirit and wine bottles and scores of morphine and cocaine bottles were found. The members sat before a cage with wooden bars reaching to the ceiling. The prisoners were marched through the cage to be reviled and sentenced to death. Afterward they were stripped naked and carted off to the slaughterhouse.

Among the exhumed bodies was that of a young woman with a child of 2 or 3 years old closely tied to her. Both had been shot through the head. The Sister of Mercy, Sister Martinova, who was accused of sheltering officers, was violated, and her breasts were cut off before she was killed. A lady of over 60 years of age was taken out on several successive nights and placed against a wall and shots were fired all around her head. This was done to extract information as to the whereabouts of an officer's son whom she did not know. She also was finally murdered. Other barbarities, including the crucifixion of a priest, could be enumerated. The Bolshevik explained that all such deeds were committed "for strategical purposes."

The chief guilt for Russia's bloody era falls on the trio Lenin, Trotzky, and Peters.

The Reuter correspondent who transmitted this statement estimated the total number of Bolshevik victims in Kiev at more than 4,000.



# Russian Factions in Death Grapple

Bolsheviks Drive Back Yudenitch—Omsk Evacuated  
by Kolchak—Soviet Peace Offers

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 15, 1919]

THE desperate and sanguinary conflict of opposing forces in Russia continued through the months of October and November. After virtually reaching the City of Petrograd, the Northwestern Army led by General Yudenitch was driven back to its original starting point at Yamburg by large Bolshevik reinforcements. The Estonian and other Baltic Governments subsequently planned to resume peace negotiations with the Bolshevik Government and a conference of the representatives of the Baltic States began at Dorpat on Nov. 9.

The Bolshevik Armies advanced so close to Omsk that the Kolchak Government removed its offices to Irkutsk and the former capital was evacuated by civilians, hospital and interallied units. On Nov. 15 a Moscow wireless reported its capture and the withdrawal of the Kolchak forces to the east. The successes of Denikin in the south continued, but toward the middle of November the Bolsheviks were progressing also in this theatre, and Denikin, who was holding a front of 1,300 miles with a comparatively small army, and who was much harassed by marauding bandits, was advancing his offensive toward Tula, the Bethlehem of Russia and the key to Moscow. On Nov. 15 it was reported that the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea had been seized by a large insurgent army operating in Denikin's rear.

Soviet Russia during this period suffered much from cold and famine, but the Bolsheviks' confidence apparently suffered no abatement, though they reiterated their readiness to make peace with the Allies whenever terms might be arranged. The formal blockade of the Entente and the virtual blockade by the United States continued. Germany, to United States continued. Germany, after

long consideration of the subject, finally returned a definite refusal to the request that she associate herself with the interallied blockade of Petrograd.

## ON THE NORTHERN FRONT

After the departure of the British and other allied troops from Archangel little fighting occurred between the Russian forces and the Bolsheviks. Where fighting occurred the North Russians gave a good account of themselves. About Oct. 25 the Russian forces repulsed a Bolshevik attack on Povenietz and inflicted great loss upon the enemy, who were driven thirty-three miles from Onega. Several villages were captured. The important railroad junction of Plessetskaya, with an armored train and many prisoners and guns, was also taken. The Archangel newspapers regarded the capture of Plessetskaya as a notable success, and rejoiced at the unaided achievements of the North Russian Army, declaring that its position was better at that time than it had been before the departure of the Allies, who, they asserted, had underestimated the North Russian strength.

A further advance of the North Russians occurred shortly before the end of October. The anti-Bolshevist forces had reached Birumshev, 150 versts south of Onega, where they had formed a junction with the forces operating on the railway front. In the Onega sector the capture of 2,000,000 cartridges and 1,000 shells was reported. The road along the Onega River was found strewn with the bodies of soldiers and horses, and with vehicles which had been mired and abandoned by the Bolsheviks.

## THE PETROGRAD FRONT

The offensive begun by General Yudenitch on Oct. 10 brought the forces of the Northwestern Government virtually within the suburbs of Petrograd by Oct.

18. Gatchina, twenty-five miles south of Petrograd, was captured from the Bolsheviks on Oct. 17, while the Esthonians, acting in conjunction with Yudenitch, had arrived within four miles of Krasnaya Gorka, facing Kronstadt. Re-

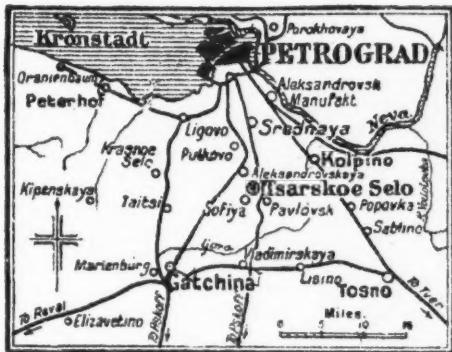
face of an obstinate Bolshevik resistance.

#### YUDENITCH DRIVEN BACK

The threatened advance of the Bolsheviks began to be fulfilled about Oct. 24 with an offensive against Pavlovsk and Tsarskoe Selo, in which the forces of Yudenitch were driven back. Their left flank was under fire from a Bolshevik dreadnought lying in the Neva. On Oct. 25 Yudenitch announced that his cavalry had pushed forward to Tosno, a few miles southeast of Tsarskoe Selo and twenty-five miles east of Gatchina, but admitted that his forces had been repulsed at other points. By Oct. 27 the success of the Bolshevik counteroffensive was clearly outlined. The Bolsheviks, after taking Tsarskoe Selo, had moved on Krasnó Selo and thrust the Yudenitch line back south of this place, and to the west six miles from Gatchina. At this date Yudenitch was daily losing ground, and complained bitterly of the refusal of Colonel Avalov-Bermondt, the pro-German Russian commander, whose forces had attacked Riga, and who had been nominally under his command, to aid him in his offensive against Petrograd.

ports that Kronstadt had surrendered proved untrue. Yudenitch also established himself at Krasnó Selo and Ligovo, twelve miles from Petrograd, but only after hard fighting. Strong resistance was encountered at Pulkovo, about seven miles south of Petrograd, compelling General Yudenitch to halt his advance and concentrate his forces while awaiting reinforcements and heavy artillery. Bolshevik forces concentrated at Gdov, on Lake Peipus, and, threatening the rear, were dispersed. Fighting still proceeded six miles north of Krasnó Selo, and along the Windau Railway, while the Bolsheviks and the forces of General Yudenitch kept up a heavy bombardment.

Already at this time the stiffening defense of the Soviet Army showed the effect of the heavy reinforcements which the Reds had drawn from the northern front, and fears of the Bolshevik advance which occurred soon thereafter drove long processions of peasant-folk, with their carts of household effects, along the road toward Gatchina, which General Yudenitch had made his base. A slight advance had been made to a point just short of Tsarskoe Selo, in the



SCENE OF YUDENITCH'S ATTEMPT TO TAKE PETROGRAD

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks were making a wing movement in an attempt to cut off Gatchina and reach the railroad. Stubborn fighting was proceeding, while the Bolsheviks were daily growing stronger. Sporadic offensives of Yudenitch proved fruitless, and by Oct. 29 he was falling back along his entire line, being compelled to abandon Gatchina and to remove his staff headquarters to Yamburg, sixty-eight miles from Petrograd on the road to Reval. In an official communication to an Estonian paper General Yudenitch admitted that his offensive on Petrograd had failed "because of lack of assistance." On Nov. 1 Trotzky declared officially that the danger of Petrograd's capture had been definitely removed.

#### BOLSHEVIST ADVANCE

Meanwhile fierce fighting was continuing in the Finnish Gulf region, and the Bolsheviks had advanced all along the line against the retreating forces of Yudenitch. The occupation of many vil-

lages in the Luga-Gdov sector, to the east of Lake Peipus, was claimed by Bolshevik dispatches. Gdov had been captured by Nov. 8, and the anti-Bolshevist troops driven fifteen miles south of Yamburg. The Bolshevik pressure was increasing hourly from the north and south, despite heroic resistance offered by the personnel of the armored trains to check the Soviet advance. The forces of Yudenitch lacked both food and munitions. A Bolshevik wireless stated that the pursuit of General Yudenitch's retreating forces was continuing along the whole front. The Soviet troops had advanced to within twenty-five versts southeast of Yamburg, and were driving the enemy northwest of Gdov.

At this time all hopes entertained by anti-Bolshevist sympathizers of the success of General Yudenitch's offensive had vanished, though on Nov. 11 he announced the recapture of Gdov, and though officials of the Northwestern Government stated on Nov. 13 that plans were being made for a new campaign.

#### APPEAL TO FINLAND

Strong pressure was brought by the Northwestern Government on Finland to persuade that country to throw its strength into the balance against the Bolsheviks. With this object Stefan Lianosov, head of the Northwestern Government, proceeded to Helsingfors from Reval on a British torpedo boat destroyer to conduct negotiations. On Oct. 31 M. Lianosov declared that Petrograd could be taken in three days with the help of the Finns, who had an army of 35,000 men, of whom some 15,000 were stationed on the Russian frontier. The Finns, he said, would aid in the struggle if the Allies consented to finance them, and give them guarantees of Finland's future independence. The situation at the front, he said, was critical, as the Bolsheviks numbered from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and were fighting desperately: they had led eighteen successive attacks on Tsarskoe Selo before they had captured it. The assistance of Finland, he declared, would turn the scale in favor of Yudenitch.

Both Lianosov and Margulies had

been cordially received by a Finnish conference consisting of President Stahlberg, Prime Minister Dr. Holsti and the Chief of Staff. The President, said M. Margulies, though not in favor of official intervention, was well disposed to the suggestion that Finland should send troops to assist in the taking of Petrograd. On Oct. 31 the question came up in the Finnish Parliament in the form of an interpellation relative to Finland's future policy; in his reply the Premier stated that Finland would co-operate with the Allies and the Baltic States in opposing Bolshevism. After an all-night debate, forty-four members of the Diet voted the statement unsatisfactory, and moved to refer the matter to the Foreign Relations Committee for further investigation. The answer was considered satisfactory by seventy members—seventy-five Socialists abstained from voting.

Meanwhile, on Nov. 2, General Justus Mannerheim, the former Finnish Premier, addressed an open letter to President Stahlberg demanding Finland's immediate intervention in the campaign against Petrograd, which, he declared, "the whole world is urging." On Nov. 4, however, it was stated from Helsingfors that the Finnish Government had informed General Yudenitch that it was unable to co-operate with him for the deliverance of Petrograd. The reply set forth that it was impossible to accede to General Yudenitch's appeal owing to Finland's internal political situation, her weak finances, the uncertainty of obtaining war materials, and the fact that the Entente had not guaranteed that future Russian Governments would recognize Finland's independence. Soon after this the offensive of General Yudenitch collapsed.

#### THE DORPAT CONFERENCE

An attempt to arrange a conference of the Baltic States to bring about peace with the Bolsheviks had been begun by Estonia in Pskov before the Yudenitch offensive. With the collapse of this offensive the plan was pushed more energetically, and on Nov. 6, seven representatives of Estonia left for Dorpat, the place chosen for the conference.



THEATRE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE REDS AND GENERAL DENIKIN'S FORCES  
SOUTHEAST OF MOSCOW

Here they were joined by delegates from Lettland, Lithuania, Poland, Finland, and the Ukraine, the three last named being unofficial delegations. Informal discussions were held on the 7th, 8th, and 9th, and the first general meeting of the conference took place on Nov. 10. White Russia also was represented. M. Piip, Estonian Foreign Minister and head of the Estonian delegation, had sent a preliminary dispatch to Moscow expressing a desire to confer with the Soviet delegates regarding the liberation of prisoners and the cessation of hostilities. Estonia's attitude was further stated by Premier Strandemann as follows:

For Estonia it is not a question of peace with the Bolsheviks, but of a cessation of hostilities in order to save our existence. We cannot fight indefinitely: our financial and economic condition will not permit this. Our military supplies are

exhausted, those from England having ceased, and Estonia and the other border States have no reason to fight longer . . . It is too early to speak about terms. I think, however, it would be possible to bring about an armed truce, somewhat like the state of things existing between the Bolsheviks and Finland. . . . As for Estonia's sacrifice, the occupation by the Germans stripped the country of foodstuffs, horses, machinery, and other necessities. In November, 1918, came the Bolshevik invasion, which we have documents to prove was instigated by the Germans. The Bolsheviks overran three-quarters of Estonia, committing wholesale murders and atrocities. Last June the offensive by the German General von der Goltz began. As a result of the wastage in the years of fighting, the country is worn out.

So far, the Estonian Premier said, the allied Governments had offered no objection to the Baltic League project and the suggested peace with the Bolshevik Government.

M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, sent a radiotelegram to the Estonian Premier on Nov. 13, demanding guarantees of safety for the Bolshevik representatives at the Dorpat conference. M. Piip replied assuring Tchitcherin of safe conduct and immunity from arrest for the delegates. On the afternoon of Nov. 16 the little Estonian city observed with keen interest the arrival of four Bolshevik representatives, headed by Maxim Litvinov, former Soviet ambassador to England. The conference was still in session when this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press.

[For the struggle of the pro-German Russian commander, Colonel Bermondt, for possession of Riga, and the problem of getting the German troops of von der Goltz out of the Baltic territory, see page 483.]

#### THE SOUTHERN FRONT

After the capture of Orel in the middle of October, with 3,500 prisoners, Denikin's forces seized Chernigov, southwest of Moscow, and recaptured a junction town north of Voronezh. Heavy Bolshevik attacks southwest and east of Orel were repulsed with heavy losses to the enemy. The Don Army was kept busy meanwhile in defense operations against cavalry attacks led by the Bolshevik General Budenny, following the raids of the Cossack leader Mamontov, along the Don. Kiev was temporarily occupied by the Bolsheviks on Oct. 15, but they were finally driven out; the city was still held by Denikin's forces on Oct. 27, though the anti-Bolshevik troops had been compelled to withdraw at some points south of the city.

By Oct. 20 Denikin's battleline extended from Kiev to Kharkov, and along the Don to Tsaritsin. Pressure was being exerted by his army at various points, despite the handicap of insufficient munitions. Denikin's objective at this time could be drawn by a line bisecting Saratov, Penza, and Tula (120 miles south of Moscow), as the three main points of a triangle whose apex pointed straight at Moscow, and whose base controlled the Ural region. In this base sector, on Oct. 22, the Bolshevik

forces were thrown back near Kamyshin, sustaining a loss of 3,000 prisoners and many machine guns. The Bolshevik authorities at Tula, at the apex of the triangle, after a visit from Trotzky in his armored train, began fortification work in anticipation of an advance of Denikin's army as far as this city.

#### NEW BOLSHEVIST OFFENSIVE

Spurred by the increasing menace of Denikin's steady advance, the Bolshevik forces began a general attack along a 700-mile front from Tsaritsin to Kiev. They scored successes at Voronezh and Orel, which they recaptured, but were unable to check Denikin, who by Oct. 25 had advanced from forty to forty-five miles on a 120-mile front, taking many prisoners and much material. Yelets, midway between Voronezh and Tula, and 230 miles southeast of Moscow, was also captured. Harold Williams, a correspondent with Denikin's armies, admitted, however, on Oct. 28, that the resistance of the Bolsheviks was stubborn in the extreme. The Bolshevik commanders, some of whom were formerly Generals in the army of the Czar, were exerting all their strategical and tactical resources to avert disaster.

Despite the loss of Voronezh and Orel, the anti-Bolsheviks held Yelets, a most advantageous position, and won a great improvement on their flanks; Tsaritsin had been held against desperate attacks by General Wrangel and the Bolsheviks driven northward toward Kamyshin; this success, combined with a northeasterly drive of the Don Cossacks from the Middle Don, had removed the Bolshevik menace to Denikin's eastern flank, which had impeded his operations in the centre.

In the alternating battle for supremacy Orel again changed hands (Oct. 30), and General Denikin resumed his advance on Moscow. The Reds had brought up a large number of troops and were exerting pressure on both sides of the Orel salient in an attempt to relieve the central advances on Moscow. Some successes were won by Denikin at this time, including the capture of a Soviet division of 3,300 men, on the Khoper River, the capture of Bobrov, southeast of Voronezh,

and the capture of another town with 1,000 men.

For nearly a fortnight no news of importance came from Denikin, but on Nov. 12, a communiqué was given out by him admitting the loss of Alexandrovsk, and the abandonment of Dmitrievka. The Reds declared that in taking the latter town they had inflicted a severe defeat on Denikin's army, and asserted further that Denikin's front had been broken over an extent of forty-seven miles, that Denikin had suffered heavy losses, and that the Bolshevik Cossack division had advanced 105 miles in three days.

#### DENIKIN'S TROUBLES

A constant handicap under which General Denikin had to struggle was the disturbance to his rear by the hostile attitude of unfriendly populations, replete with propaganda to attain some national aim. Under this category came the hostility of General Petlura, the peasant Ukrainian leader, between whom and Denikin a state of war had been declared. But Petlura was far from being Denikin's only opposer in South Russia. Three Ukrainian bands had been operating for some time behind his lines, robbing stragglers and holding up trains. Of these, the most formidable was the band of Makhno, in the Province of Ekaterinoslav, which was anti-Semitic, and the band of Shubé, which attacked trains between Kiev and Poltava. The inhabitants of the Kuban district, also, gave Denikin considerable trouble, until he entered into an agreement with them which relieved the situation. The district of Astrakhan, on the Black Sea at the mouth of the Volga, had fallen under Bolshevik control.

Petlura saw in Denikin the representative of reactionary monarchism; Denikin refused to encourage the separatist tendency embodied by Petlura and the Ukrainian Government. There were also intimations that Petlura was conducting his campaigns with the aid of German money. This charge was confirmed in an official report made by General Edgar Jadwin, member of the Morgenthau Jewish Commission and one of the

ranking officers of the American Army, who, in company with an Intelligence officer, traveled for three weeks through the Ukraine, visited Denikin, and also Petlura, and saw much of the latter's army. Petlura's source of supplies was frankly and avowedly German, General Jadwin reported, and Petlura's justification was that only the Germans would help him. General Jadwin described Petlura as a man of considerable intelligence, and much determination to maintain Ukraine's absolute independence. His civil Government scarcely deserved the name of Government at all; and his army was a mere aggregation of scattered guerrilla units; there was little discipline or co-ordination, the various leaders making war on the Bolsheviks or upon General Denikin's forces as they saw fit.

#### FIGHTING A BANDIT FORCE

About the middle of October, after Petlura's declaration of war on Denikin, he was joined by the bandit leader, Makhno, who, after having been defeated north of Odessa, had returned to his old haunts, the eastern side of the Dnieper and the region north of the Sea of Azov, and had raided several towns in Daghestan, in Northeastern Caucasus, where an insurrection movement had begun. Denikin had dispatched troops to this spot to put down the insurrection and capture the bandit leader. On Oct. 29 a Moscow wireless reported that large bodies of both Petlura's and Makhno's forces were joining the Red Army. Several towns along the Dnieper had been taken by the insurgents southeast of Kiev, while Makhno had captured Alexandrovsk and was besieging Elizabetgrad. On Nov. 15 it was reported that a number of important towns on the eastern coast of the Black Sea from Elershik to Sochy had been taken by a large insurgent army operating in Denikin's rear.

Severe fighting occurred between Petlura's forces and those of Denikin on Oct. 30, and the Petlura troops were driven from several villages. On Nov. 4 Denikin concluded an armistice with Petlura, by the terms of which Denikin was to evacuate the Ukraine, but after a lull of a

few days the battle was renewed. An Ukrainian dispatch of Nov. 9 said that Denikin had been driven across the Bug River, leaving many prisoners and much booty and war material in the hands of the Ukrainians. A later dispatch from Denikin, however, said that 30,000 Galicians had joined the volunteer army and taken Petlura's army in the rear, and that the Ukrainians, in consequence, intended to lay down their arms.

At this date General Denikin sent a telegram to the Paris headquarters of the American Red Cross, thanking that organization for the assistance which the populations of Southern Russia had received from it. This telegram was as follows:

In these epoch-making days, which demand superhuman effort and self-sacrifice from every true Russian, the American Nation has once more proved the depth of its historical devotion to real liberty and progress by stretching out its hand to Russia in an effort to save world civilization from the corruption of the Bolsheviks.

I beg you to accept my profound thanks for the numerous gifts of the American Red Cross through its commission to South Russia and for assistance given soldiers and wretched populations, and express to you and the American people the deeply felt gratitude of the Russian people, who will always remember these acts of generosity.

#### THE SIBERIAN FRONT

A summary of military events on the Siberian front given out Oct. 12 showed that at this time the right flank of the Kolchak armies had passed Tobolsk and was driving toward Tumen; the centre was advancing slowly eighteen miles west of Yalutorovsk, the left wing was within thirty miles of Kustany, and in the south the fight had been carried to within three miles of Orenburg. Ural Cossacks were driving the Reds before them seven miles from Uralsk. Then the tide turned. Petropavlovsk, 166 miles from Omsk, was captured from Kolchak at the end of October, with 1,500 prisoners. The rapid progress of the Red forces was indicated on Nov. 12, when a Moscow wireless announced that the Bolsheviks had taken Ishim and occupied Kochubayev Station, eighty versts west of Omsk. The question of whether Omsk, the Kolchak capital,

should be abandoned or defended was bitterly debated; owing to a difference on this point General Diedrichs, commander of the western armies of the Omsk Government, was superseded by General Sakharov. Admiral Kolchak and the members of his Government on Oct. 31 expressed their determination to remain and defend Omsk in spite of all advice and dissuasion.

Evacuation of civilians and Government offices, however, was decided upon. A constant stream of carts and trucks took away the civilians' household goods, and in freezing weather civilians, Government aids, sick and wounded, were taken away in unheated box cars. The plans of defense were outlined by the Russkoye Dielo, which stated that a decisive battle would be fought between the Rivers Ishim and Irtish, and that Omsk would be fortified and surrounded with trenches as a centre of defense. The newspaper Russ called upon all to rally around the Government, realizing that the situation was critical, and that an ultimate choice must be made between Lenin and Kolchak.

The allied military representatives regarded the situation as grave. All the allied missions finally left on Nov. 6, except the Japanese. The American Red Cross hospitals and the Government offices were provisionally transferred to Irkutsk. The American Vice Consul was left to maintain contact with the Kolchak Foreign Office at Novo Nikolaevsk.

A Moscow wireless on Nov. 15 asserted that Omsk had been occupied by Bolshevik forces, and that the troops of Kolchak were retreating to the east. Up to the time these pages went to press, this claim had not been confirmed.

#### IN EASTERN SIBERIA

General Semenov, an anti-Bolshevist leader, held up a train bearing part of a consignment of 68,000 rifles recently shipped from America to Admiral Kolchak at Chita, Trans-Baikalia, on Oct. 24, and demanded that 15,000 rifles be delivered to him by Oct. 25. The American Lieutenant who was guarding the assignment with a small force of fifty soldiers telegraphed to General Graves

for instructions, and, on receiving orders on no account to surrender the guns, sent a categorical refusal to Semenov, and got through safely with his consignment.

It was stated at Vladivostok on Oct. 28 that General Rozanov, whose activities had occasioned great friction with the interallied commanders and a demand for the withdrawal of his troops from Vladivostok, had been recalled to Omsk, and that General Romanovsky, recently leader of the Russian troops in the Udzinsk region, had been appointed by Admiral Kolchak to act as Governor and commander of the Russian troops in the Far Eastern provinces. A Cossack conference at Omsk issued a protest the same day against Rozanov's recall from the Far East, where his presence was considered desirable.

#### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Admiral Kolchak toward the middle of October asked the allied Governments for a credit of \$350,000,000 to be used for military and economic purposes. He also requested the use of additional allied troops to guard the Trans-Siberian Railroad between Irkutsk and Omsk as substitutes for Czechoslovak troops soon to return to Europe. Siberian banks, co-operating with the Government, arranged a credit of \$25,000,000 with Japanese banks, at 7 per cent. interest, depositing gold bullion of an equal amount as security. It was announced in Washington on Nov. 7 that the All-Russian Government had made a deposit of \$1,000,000 in gold bullion at Omsk as a guarantee that it would meet its obligations for the purchase of war material from the American Government. This bullion was safely received at San Francisco, and subsequently deposited in the United States Treasury.

Not having received a reply from the Japanese Government to a communication sent in September concerning co-operation in the administration of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the United States on Oct. 18 dispatched a second note on the subject to Japan. The Japanese reply, finally received in Washington on Nov. 2, signified Japan's readiness to protect the road to the best of its ability;

constant efforts to do so had been made, and reports that it had not done so were based on misunderstanding. The note, however, declined in diplomatic but firm language to submit the Japanese troops in Siberia to the authority of the Allied Railway Board under John W. Stevens and defended the Japanese policy of non-participation in individual disputes.

#### IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The psychology of Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Minister of War, who went to Petrograd to direct that city's defense against Yudenitch, and whose energetic measures led to the final driving back of the Yudenitch forces below Yamburg, was brought out in a Moscow wireless of Oct. 18 which reported Trotzky's views on the Baltic situation in the following terms:

A pack of bourgeois curs is worrying the body of Soviet Russia on all sides. Polish Knights are gnashing their teeth. The German General von der Goltz, under instructions by the Stock Exchange and the off-scourings of all lands, is seizing the Baltic country with the help of monarchist hands in order to attack Moscow from there.

In the northwest, the blood-drunken trio, Yudenitch, Balakovitch and Rodzianko, are advancing on Petrograd. The Estonian peace negotiations served as a means to lull the Red Petrograd troops and as a soporific.

The army defending the approaches to Petrograd failed to withstand the first blow, and danger has again come to Petrograd. The English and French radio stations announce with joy the fact of our failures on the road to Petrograd. The Stock Exchange and the press of the whole world are sharing the joy and predicting the speedy fall of Petrograd. But they are wrong this time. Petrograd will not fall. It will stand. We shall not surrender Petrograd.

For the defense of the first town of the proletarian revolutions sufficient strength will be found in the peasants and the workers of the land. Yudenitch's successes are those of a cavalry raid. Troops are being sent to the assistance of Petrograd and the Petrograd workers who rose first of all. We must break the skulls of Yudenitch's bands and the Anglo-French Imperialists.

Other proclamations issued by Trotzky and addressed to the Red Army attacked the English bitterly, and called on the Red troops to harry the forces of Yudenitch unceasingly. Observers in

Petrograd at this time described the situation of the former capital as tragic; many people both in this city and Moscow were perishing of cold and hunger. On Oct. 22 Tchitcherin notified the German Government that participation by Germany in the proposed interallied blockade of Soviet Russia would be regarded as a deliberate act of hostility. Strong opposition to Germany's joining the blockade was expressed by the Berlin press.

Despite the beating back of the Yudenitch offensive, and the favorable position of the Red Army on other fronts, the Soviet authorities still maintained their readiness to make peace with the allied nations—on Lenin's terms. On Nov. 6 The Daily Herald, the London labor organ, published a draft of the Bolshevik peace conditions; they had been brought from Moscow by Lieut. Col. Lestrange Malone, Liberal member of Parliament, who had interviewed both Lenin and Trotzky.

These terms briefly were a peace conference in a neutral country, an armistice on all fronts, the removal of the blockade, the re-establishment of free communication over all parts of Russia and Finland, the withdrawal of all allied troops from Russia, and the discontinuance of all aid to Soviet Russia's enemies. The former debts of the Russian Empire were to be accepted. The draft concluded with an implied threat to enter into an alliance with Germany in case the Entente rejected the Soviet terms.

Similar offers were made in public statements attributed to Tchitcherin and Lenin at this time. As far as Germany was concerned, Herr Müller, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared before the National Assembly on Oct. 24 that so long as the Bolsheviks were interfering in Germany's internal affairs and preaching world revolution any agreement with Soviet Russia would be impossible. The ex-Danish Consul General at Moscow, Baron Haxthausen, declared in Paris on Oct. 23 that the program of the Bolshevik Government, as given to him in full by Karl Radek, Lenin's right-hand man, was based wholly on the overthrow of all existing "capitalistic" Gov-

ernments. For this and other reasons, Great Britain, France and the United States refused to take the Soviet offers of peace at their face value.

#### AMERICA'S BLOCKADE

In specific application to the United States, Assistant Secretary Phillips, in a letter made public on Nov. 4 at the State Department in Washington, in explaining the reasons why the United States had not formally joined in the blockade against Soviet Russia, said that the American policy of non-intercourse was based on the following considerations:

(1) It was the declared purpose of the Bolsheviks of Russia to carry revolution throughout the world, and they had availed themselves of every opportunity to conduct propaganda in the United States aimed to bring about the forcible overthrow of the American form of government.

(2) The opening of commercial relations would mean the bringing into the United States of large supplies of gold, some of it the expropriated property of the Rumanian Government, for the purpose of carrying on this anarchistic propaganda.

(3) By the nationalization scheme of the Bolshevik authorities a program of political oppression was being maintained in the apportionment of food supplies among the various classes, and it was inadmissible that American food should be sent for the perpetuation of such a system. If food could be sent without concurring in this system, the United States would consider it. Far-reaching measures had been taken for the relief of all peoples in areas freed from Bolshevik control. The American Relief Commission had sent food stores to Viborg sufficient to support Petrograd for a month, and they would be delivered whenever that city came under the control of authorities with whom it was possible to deal.

On Nov. 13 Premier Lloyd George announced in the House of Commons that he proposed to call at an early date an international conference at which the Ministers of the allied powers might consider, among other questions left unsettled, the vexing problem of Russia.

# Yudenitch and Northwestern Russia

## Plans of New Government

[SEE PORTRAIT, PAGE 449]

**G**Eneral NICHOLAS YUDE-NITCH, whose offensive against the Bolsheviks brought him within a few miles of Petrograd in October, 1919, first came into prominence in 1914 as a military commander of note. A graduate of the Military School of Moscow and the Military Academy of Petrograd, he had seen considerable service in Turkestan, and was made a Colonel at the age of 33. He was subsequently made a Major General for his record in the Russo-Japanese war, in the course of which he had been severely wounded, and five years later received the epaulets of a Lieutenant General and the appointment of Chief of Staff in the Caucasus. It was in this region that he first came into the limelight. Grand Duke Nicholas had been removed by the Czar from his command as head of the Western front, and transferred to the Caucasus, where the Turks were active. When Turkey entered the war, at the close of 1914, her plan of campaign included a swift invasion of the Russian Caucasus, with a drive toward Tiflis, its capital. The battles of Sarikamysis and Ardahan, and above all of Erzerum, where Yudenitch led the troops of the Czar, broke up this movement of invasion and put the Turks on the defensive.

In the four years following, during which the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the Bolshevik régime occurred, little was heard of Yudenitch. But about a year ago it became known that he, with a small group of Russian officers, had organized a force of 23,000 men under the name of the Northwestern Volunteer Army, to fight against the Bolsheviks on the Petrograd front. It was stated at this time that he was acting in co-operation with the Finnish General, Mannerheim, now Premier of Finland. His first operations against the former capital were cautious, but as success met his attempts he became more aggressive, and eventually became a men-

ace to the rule of Lenin and Trotzky. In August, 1919, in co-operation with Finnish forces, he advanced toward Petrograd along three lines in an offensive which met with considerable success, but desperate resistance by the Bolsheviks checked this movement.

### NORTHWESTERN GOVERNMENT

Soon after the failure of this offensive, however, a new anti-Bolshevist Government was formed under the name of the Northwestern Government, with its seat in the Estonian city of Reval. In the Cabinet formed, which fused all factions opposed to Bolshevism, General Yudenitch was given the position of Minister of War. The full list of the appointed members of this new Government is given herewith:

Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Finances—C. G. LIANOZOV, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of the Interior—K. A. ALEXANDROV, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of War—General N. N. YUDENITCH, (Non-Partisan.)

Minister of Industry and Commerce, of Provisions and of Health—M. S. MARGULIES, (Radical.)

Minister of Justice—E. I. KEDRIN, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of Food—F. G. EISHINSKY, (Radical.)

Minister of the Navy—Vice Admiral V. K. PILKIN, (Non-Partisan.)

Minister of Education—F. A. ERN, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of Public Charities—A. S. PIESHKOV, (Socialist-Revolutionist.)

State Controller—V. L. GORN, (Social-Democrat.)

Minister of Agriculture—P. A. BOGDANOV, (Socialist-Revolutionist.)

Minister of Cults—I. F. EVSEIEV, (Labor Group.)

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—M. M. PHILLIPEO, (Non-Partisan.)

Minister of Public Works—N. N. IVANOV, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

The Northwestern Government was subordinated to the All-Russian Government at Omsk. Its official program, as issued on Aug. 24, when General Yude-

nitch was planning his new campaign, was as follows:

In the fratricidal war brought about by the Bolsheviks. Russia is perishing in fire and blood. The young and strong are perishing in vain and without glory, and the old and weak are dying out from hunger and epidemics.

Entire cities are dying out, and mills and factories are deserted and at a standstill. The villages are put to the torch, and the fruits of the land tillers' labors are destroyed while yet in the fields; their live stock is ruined and our peasantry is reduced to the utmost degree of desolation. Masses of refugees, shelterless and hungry, are wandering in the forests of our native land.

Thus is Russia perishing under the heel of the Bolsheviks. The bottom of the dark precipice into which Russia has been hurled is already in sight. The Government of the Northwestern Provinces of Russia, having been called into life by the necessity of the immediate and decisive liberation of Russia from the Bolshevik yoke, is formed in complete harmony with the plenipotentiary representatives of the allied powers, and is united with the rest of Russia in the person of the Chief Executive, Admiral Kolchak.

It has put before the citizens of Russia the principles which it accepts as the basis of its impending activities:

(1) A firm struggle against the Bolsheviks, as well as against all those who aspire to re-establish the old régime.

(2) The equality before the law of all the citizens of the Russian State, without distinction of race, nationality, and religion.

(3) All the citizens of liberated Russia are guaranteed inviolability of person and domicile, freedom of the press, speech, association, assembly, and strikes.

(4) The All-Russian authority must be recreated on the basis of the rule of the people. To this end, immediately upon the liberation of our motherland from the tyranny of the Bolsheviks, steps must be taken for the summoning of a new All-Russian Constituent Assembly to be elected by a general, direct, equal, and secret vote.

(5) If after the liberation of the Petrograd, Pskov, and Novgorod Provinces general conditions may not yet warrant the convocation of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly, there should be summoned, for the purpose of co-ordinating conditions of local life, a Territorial Popular Assembly in Petrograd, elected on the same democratic basis by the population of the liberated provinces.

(6) The nationalities inhabiting the various territories composing the united and regenerated Russia are to decide freely

for themselves their form of administration.

(7) The administration of the Russian State is to be founded on principles of wide local autonomy. The Zemstvos and municipal self-governments are to be elected upon a democratic basis.

(8) The land problem is to be solved in the Constituent Assembly, in accordance with the will of the toiling agricultural population. Until its solution by the latter body, the land should remain in the hands of the peasantry, and all transactions and alienations of lands outside of city limits are prohibited, except in cases of extraordinary importance and by special permission of the Government.

(9) The labor question is to be solved on the basis of the eight-hour day, the State control of industry, and the full protection of labor and of the working class.

Citizens of long-suffering Russia! The Government of the Northwestern Provinces of Russia, having undertaken at this critical hour of our struggle for liberation the responsibility for the present and the future of Russia, calls upon you for a final effort and for final sacrifices in the name of our motherland, our freedom, and our happiness.

#### TO REPRESENT ALL CLASSES

In September, 1919, on the eve of the decisive movement toward Petrograd, the Northwestern Government issued the following appeal to the army:

Citizen-Soldiers!

The newly formed Government of the Northwestern Territory is making this appeal to you, brave soldiers of our army, the sole support and hope of mutilated and bleeding Russia.

The Bolsheviks, as may be expected from them, will tell you that ours is a Government of capitalists and landowners or of "social traitors." Place no trust in them, for the Bolsheviks are lying and deceiving you, and they are only maintaining themselves by chicanery and lies and your credulity.

We are a Government not of capitalists and the landed gentry. Our Government is composed of men in public life, of representatives of all classes and of all the strata of the population. The régime of Czarism is as hateful to us as it is to you, and no return to it is possible.

We shall not permit that the peasants become again the hired help upon lands belonging to the gentry. The land belongs to those who toil upon it. We shall not permit that capitalists, manufacturers, and industrials re-establish a twelve-hour working day in mills, shops, and factories. The eight-hour day must be preserved.

We shall not permit that Russian life be again placed behind a Czar's prison

walls, where it has been stunted and stultified during many centuries. We shall use all our energies and apply all our efforts to the end that the people may live a free, peaceful life; that they may freely develop and make use of their abilities; that they may enjoy in the fullest measure the fruits of their labors; that our people may dwell in happiness and comfort which they so justly deserve.

But in order to establish this new, good life, we must first of all rid our country of the Bolsheviks, who have been plaguing and mutilating our unfortunate Russia for the past two years. Having usurped power by force, they are leading our motherland to perdition. They promised peace to a people weary and tired of war, and deceived them; they concluded peace with the Germans, and are now warring against their own fellow-Russians and shedding rivers of blood; they promised bread to the people and deceived them again. In place of bread, they have created in Russia a famine such as our motherland had not known in the thousand years of its existence.

The Bolsheviks have turned over to the peasants the estates of the former landowners, but they have confiscated their crops, both from their former allotments and from the lands that had belonged to the gentry, leaving for the peasants only a meagre ration of twenty pounds per soul.

They are promising freedom to all, but in reality they are filling the prisons daily and are executing hundreds of innocent people, and, without consulting the will of the people, are issuing decrees more vicious in their nature than a state of total lawlessness. They are promising a prosperous life to every one, and, mean-

while, they are destroying cities and are putting villages to the torch, confiscating bread from the peasants and fodder from their cattle.

As long as the Bolsheviks remain in Russia we shall have neither peace, nor bread, nor freedom, nor laws.

Only the army can save Russia from the Bolsheviks. We know that you are tired of campaigning and fighting; we know that you have frequently suffered from hunger and want, that you have been poorly clad and shod in the past, and that you were poorly armed. But now all this is ended. We have supplies for you in plenty, and soon bread as well as clothing and arms will be distributed among you.

Make your greatest efforts, citizen-soldiers, and your last and final sacrifice at this hour. March bravely to fight the enemies of the people and of freedom, and fulfill to the last your duty, thus winning peace and happiness for yourselves and for our unfortunate motherland.

The new offensive by General Yudenitch followed soon after the issue of this proclamation. Its results have been described in the November issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. In this approach to the very gates of Petrograd General Yudenitch was nearer than ever before to attaining his desire—the capture of the Red stronghold. His forces were inadequate, however, and the Bolsheviks, by concentrating large masses of troops from other fronts, kept him from actually entering the city, and early in November had driven him back beyond Gatchina.

## British Aid for Northwest Russia

The terms of an agreement between the British Government and the Northwestern Government of Russia, headed by Stefan Lianozov, were recently printed in *La Feuille*, a Socialist paper of Geneva. According to this agreement, Great Britain agrees:

1. To support in every way the Lianozov Government in its struggles against the Bolsheviks and especially in its efforts to occupy Petrograd.
2. To supply Lianozov with munitions and modern weapons of war, such as tanks, airplanes, &c.
3. To exercise pressure upon Germany so as to facilitate recruiting among the Russian prisoners of war in Germany.
4. To furnish supplies to the districts suffering from the effects of Bolshevik rule.

5. To grant a special credit of 1,000,000,000 rubles, after the overthrow of the Bolshevik régime, for the purchase of machinery and raw materials for the restoration of Russian industry.

### The Northwestern Government agrees:

1. To recognize all Great Britain's special interests in the Baltic region.
2. To give the Baltic countries an opportunity to exercise self-determination.
3. To declare officially, after the fall of Petrograd, its disinterestedness in the Persian question.
4. To recognize all the debts of the former Government.
5. To forbear making any important purchases in Germany so long as delivery agreements based upon the credit arrangement with Great Britain exist.

# How We Made the October Revolution

By LEON TROTZKY

[BOLSHEVIST MINISTER OF WAR]

(FIRST INSTALLMENT)

*This narrative of the events that led to the overthrow of the Kerensky Government and the advent of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia is the official Bolshevik version of those events. It is part of a long treatise first drafted by Leon Trotzky in the intervals between the sessions of the Russo-German Peace Conference at Brest-Litovsk. In the preface, dated Feb. 25, 1918, the object of the work is declared to be "to acquaint the international proletariat with the causes, the development, and the significance of the revolution accomplished in Russia in October, 1917." It was addressed to the workers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and all Europe." The work was published serially in French at Paris in the Summer of 1919 by the Archives de la Grande Guerre, from which the essential portions are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY and presented without comment.*

THE revolution was born directly from the war, and the war became the touchstone of all the revolutionary parties and energies. The intellectual leaders were "against the war"; in the time of Czarism many of them were considered affiliated with the left wing of the Internationale and were Zimmerwaldians. But scarcely had they assumed "responsibilities" when their whole attitude changed.

To practice the policy of revolutionary socialism was, in these conditions, to break with the Russian and allied bourgeoisie. But the intellectual and semi-intellectual lower middle class sought to cover its political incapacity by an alliance with bourgeois liberalism. Hence the pitiful and really shameful rôle played by the leaders of the lower middle class in the question of the war.

Sighs, phrases, exhortations or secret pleas addressed by them to the "allied" Governments was all that they could mentally devise; but factually they continued to walk in the footsteps of the liberal upper bourgeoisie. The soldiers dying in the trenches could evidently not infer that the war, in which they had fought for nearly three years, had suddenly taken another turn through the sole fact that in Petrograd certain new personalities, calling themselves Revolu-

tionary Socialists, or Mensheviks, had become a part of the Government.

Milyukov succeeded the official Prokrovsky, and Tereschenko succeeded Milyukov; that is, in simple words, instead of bureaucratic disloyalty, there was first the militarist imperialism of the Cadets, and then the absence of all principle, and political "complaisance"; but there were no objective changes, and no real issue from the terrible struggles of war was shown.

## DISINTEGRATION OF THE ARMY

To this, precisely, was due the gradual disintegration of the army. The agitators explained to the soldiers that the Government of the Czar sent them without rhyme or reason to be slaughtered like so many cattle. But the successors of the Czar were unable in any way to modify the character of the war, just as they were unable to pave the way for an effort to obtain peace. In the first months not a foot of advance was made, and the impatience of the army, as well as of the allied Governments, was caused thereby. This led to the offensive of June 18, [1917.] The Allies insisted on the offensive, presenting at the cashier's window, so to speak, old letters of exchange received from the Government of the Czar.

The leaders of the petite bourgeoisie,

intimidated by their own impotence and the growing impatience of the masses, yielded to this demand. They began really to imagine that only a push by the Russian Army was needed to bring about peace. The offensive seemed to them to be the only way to escape from their difficulties, the solution of the problem; in short, salvation.

No more monstrous and criminal error could be conceived. At that time they spoke of the offensive as they did in the first days and the first weeks of the war; the patriotic Socialists spoke of the necessity of defending "the country," of inner peace, of the "holy union," &c. All their Zimmerwaldian and internationalist enthusiasm appeared to have been swept away.

We, who combated them uncompromisingly, were well aware that the offensive might prove a frightful peril, and might even bring about the end of the revolution. We pointed out that they should not send into battle an army which had, as it were, just awakened to consciousness, and which had been shaken by the force of events whose import it still did not understand, without previously giving it new ideas which it might consider as its own. We resorted to exhortation, demonstration, threat. But as there was no other possible solution for the factions in control, who in their turn were allied with the Russian and the allied bourgeoisie, they showed us only a hostile attitude and an implacable hatred.

#### CAMPAIGN AGAINST BOLSHEVIKI

The historian of the future will not read without emotion the Russian papers of May and June, 1917, period of the moral preparation of the offensive. The articles of the official and Governmental organs, almost without exception, were directed against the Bolsheviks. There was no accusation, no calumny which was not "mobilized" against us at this period. In this campaign the principal part, as was only to be expected, was played by the Cadets. Their class instinct told them that not merely the offensive, but all the subsequent developments of the revolution, and even the

whole future of the State, were involved in this offensive.

The bourgeois machinery of so-called "public opinion" was then revealed in all its workings. Divers organs, divers authorities, publications, platforms, and pulpits, all were used to bring about the common objective: to make the Bolsheviks, as a political party, impossible. The tenseness and dramatic qualities of the press campaign directed against the Bolsheviks, all ready before the appointed hour had come, foreshadowed the civil war which was destined to break out in the following revolutionary phase.

This campaign of hatred and calumny was intended to excite the working masses against "cultivated society" and to divide the two radically by erecting between them a water-tight compartment. The liberal upper class understood that it could not succeed in placating the masses without the intervention and assistance of the democratic lower middle class, who held provisionally the directing power of the revolutionary organizations. The political hue and cry against the Bolsheviks had, then, as its immediate object, the stirring up of relentless hostility between our party and the deep-lying strata of "intellectual socialism," which, once isolated from the proletariat, would be bound to fall into subjection to the liberal upper class.

It was at the time of the first Congress of the Soviets of all Russia that the first muffled roar of thunder was heard presaging the terrible events which were about to occur. Our party had planned for the 10th of June an armed demonstration in the streets of Petrograd. The object of this demonstration was to act directly on the Congress of the Soviets of all Russia. "Seize the power!" the workmen of Petrograd said thereby to the social revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who had come from all the corners of the earth: "Break with the bourgeoisie, renounce coalition with it, and seize the power!"

#### AN ABORTIVE DEMONSTRATION

It was manifest to us that a rupture of the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks with the liberal upperbour-

geoisie would force the former to seek support in the most advanced ranks of the proletariat, and that they would thus assure themselves a preponderance to the disadvantage of the upper bourgeoisie. But it was precisely this probability that frightened the leaders of the latter. When they learned the plan for a demonstration, they launched, in common with the Government, in which they had representatives, and with the liberal and counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, a veritably insane campaign against the demonstration.

All the trumps were played. We had at this time in the Congress only an insignificant minority, and we were obliged to retreat. The demonstration did not occur. But this abortive demonstration left deep traces in the consciousness of the two parties; it accentuated contrasts, and embittered hostilities. At a special session of the presiding officers of the Congress, at which the representatives of our group were present, M. Tseretelli, who was then Minister in the Coalition Government, declared, with all the uncompromising dogmatism of the doctrinaire petit bourgeois of limited horizon, that the only danger threatening the revolution came from the Bolsheviks and from the Petrograd proletariat armed by them. He concluded that men "who did not know how to use arms" should be disarmed. This applied to the workmen and to members of the Petrograd garrison who had joined our party. This disarmament, however, did not take place, for the political and psychological conditions which would justify the carrying out of such a radical measure were not at hand.

In order to offset the effect of the failure of the demonstration on the masses, the Congress of Soviets announced a general demonstration, without arms, for June 18. That day was a day of triumph for our party. The masses marched through the streets in solid columns, and though, inversely to what had taken place in our demonstration project for June 10, they had been called out by the official power of the Soviets, the workmen had inscribed on their flags and standards the rallying

cries of our party: "Down with Secret Treaties!" "Down with the Policy of an Offensive!" "Hurrah for an Honorable Peace!" "All Governmental Power for the Soviets!"

Only three signs expressed confidence in the Coalition Ministry, those borne by the Cossack regiment, the Plekhanov group, and the Petrograd section of the Jewish "League," which comprised elements alien to the proletariat.

This demonstration proved not only to our enemies, but also to ourselves, that we were much stronger in Petrograd than we had supposed.

#### OFFENSIVE OF JUNE 18

Following this demonstration of the revolutionary masses, a Governmental crisis seemed absolutely inevitable. But news from the front that the revolutionary army had taken the offensive effaced the impression of the demonstration. The very day that the proletariat and the Petrograd garrison demanded publication of the secret documents, as well as categorical offers of peace, Kerensky launched the revolutionary army into the offensive.

This was not purely a gratuitous coincidence. The engineers of the political backstage had already prepared everything in advance, and the time of the offensive had been determined not on military but on political grounds.

On June 19 the so-called patriotic manifestation occurred in the streets of Petrograd. The Nevsky Prospekt—the principal artery of bourgeois circulation—was filled with animated groups, among whom were officers, journalists, and elegant ladies, all agitating against the Bolsheviks. The first news regarding the offensive had been favorable. The liberal press asserted that the main object was attained; that the attack of June 18, whatever its subsequent military effects might be, was a deadly blow at the revolution, for it would re-establish in the army the old system of discipline, and would assure to the liberal upper middle class the domination of the State.

We had predicted otherwise. In a special statement which we had presented

to the first Soviet Congress a few days before the June offensive we said that this offensive would destroy the inner unity of the army, would bring its different branches into opposition, and would give a great preponderance to the counter-revolutionaries, for the enforcement of discipline in an army in a progressive state of demoralization and without any new moral principle to support it would lead to bitter reprisals.

In other words, we predicted in this statement the consequences which were fulfilled later on under the general name of the Kornilov affair. We pointed out that in every case the revolution was threatened by the greatest danger, whether the offensive succeeded, which we doubted, or whether it failed, which seemed to us almost inevitable. The second theory proved to be the correct one. The news of victory did not last long. Instead came the announcement of sad events, such as the refusal of numerous army corps to support the attacking units, and the killing of officers, who, in some instances, were the only attackers.

Military events were also complicated by the ever-increasing difficulties in the inner life of the country. In respect to the agrarian question, industrial organization, and national harvests, the Coalition Government made absolutely no progress. The question of food and transport became increasingly difficult and local conflicts became more frequent every day.

#### THE GOVERNMENT HESITATES

The Socialist Ministers asked the masses to wait. All urgent decisions and measures, notably the question of the Constituent Assembly, were deferred. The irresolution of the Government was obvious. There were only two possible solutions—either the bourgeoisie must be expelled from power and the revolution must go on, or else, by severe reprisals, the popular masses must be muzzled. Kerensky and Tseretelli backed and filled between these two extremes and only confused the situation more.

When the Cadets, who were the shrewdest and most penetrating members of the Coalition Government, saw that

the failure of the offensive of June might deal a fatal blow, not only to the revolution, but also to the directing parties, they hastened to withdraw, throwing as they did so all responsibilities on the shoulders of their associates of the Left.

On July 2 occurred the Ministerial crisis, the direct cause of which was the question of the Ukraine. From all points of view this was a moment of extreme political tension. From different parts of the front thronged delegations and isolated representatives to describe the chaos which reigned in the army following the offensive. The "Governmental" press demanded stern reprisals. Similar demands became more and more frequent in the columns of the "Socialist" press.

Kerensky drew nearer, or rather publicly nearer, to the Cadet Party and the Cadet generals, and he showed publicly not only all the hatred which he had for the Bolsheviks, but also his aversion for all revolutionary parties in general. Meanwhile the Entente diplomats exerted pressure on the Government, and demanded the re-establishment of discipline and the continuation of the offensive. In Governmental circles the greatest heedlessness prevailed. In the breast of the working masses an accumulation of anger awaited impatiently the moment of explosion. \* \* \*

#### THE COALITION DISSOLVED

I remember the meeting of the Executive Committee of July 2. The Socialist Ministers had come to report on the new Governmental crisis. \* \* \* The spokesman was Tseretelli. He explained at length to the Executive Committee that the concessions which he and Terestchenko had made to the Kiev Rada were far from signifying the dismemberment of Russia, and were consequently not a sufficient motive for the Cadets' withdrawal from the Cabinet. Tseretelli reproached the Cadet leaders with their centralizing doctrinarianism, their inability to grasp the necessity of a compromise with the Ukraine, &c.

From all the previous experiences of the coalition only one issue seemed possible—to break with the Cadets and to constitute a Soviet Government. The

equilibrium of forces in the Soviets was then such that the Government of the Soviets, from the point of view of party policy, would have come into the hands of the revolutionary Socialists and the Mensheviks. We boldly defended this policy. But even after the Ministerial crisis of July 2 Tseretelli and his associates did not renounce their idea of the "coalition." They declared to the Executive Committee that though the Cadet leaders were infected with doctrinarianism, and even with counter-revolutionary tendencies, there were in the provinces numerous bourgeois elements which could still act harmoniously with the Revolutionary Democracy, and that to obtain their collaboration representatives of the upper bourgeoisie must be admitted into the new Government.

The announcement that the coalition was dissolved, only to be succeeded by a new coalition, spread immediately through Petrograd and aroused a storm of indignation in the workmen's quarters. Thus was laid the foundation for the events of July 3, 4, and 5.

#### THE DAYS OF JULY

The Executive Committee of All-Russia, created by the July Congress and supported by the unprogressive provinces, relegated the Petrograd Soviet further and further to the background, and even seized control of affairs in Petrograd. A conflict was inevitable. The workmen and soldiers expressed violent dissatisfaction with the official policy of the Soviets and demanded more energetic action on our part. The position of our party in relation to the movement of July 3, 4, and 5 was clearly drawn. The agitators of the party, distributed through the lower strata of the population, went with the mass and fomented an agitation based on no half measures.

The Central Executive Committee was in session at the Tauride Palace when the palace was invested by tumultuous bands of workmen and soldiers bearing arms. These elements (including anarchists, "Black Hundreds," and paid agents) demanded the arrest of Tschernov and Tseretelli, the dispersal of the Executive

Committee, &c. They even tried to seize Tschernov. The bourgeois press represented the whole movement as a pogromist and counter-revolutionary as well as a Bolshevik exploit, the immediate object of which was to seize the Government and to do violence to the Central Executive Committee.

All the strategy of Tseretelli, Tschernov, and others on July 3 was to try to gain time and thus give Kerensky the possibility to bring "safe" troops to Petrograd. In the hall of the Tauride Palace, which was surrounded by a large crowd of armed people, delegation after delegation arrived, demanding an immediate break with the upper bourgeoisie, absolute social reforms, and the opening of overtures of peace. We, the Bolsheviks, received each new detachment in the street or in the courtyard, and exhorted them to be calm, expressing our certainty that in view of the attitude of the masses the party of the Centre would not succeed in forming a new Coalition Government. The most excited were the militant ones who had come from Kronstadt, and we had great difficulty in keeping them in bounds.

On July 4 the demonstration assumed even greater proportions, already under the immediate direction of our party. The Soviet leaders were lacking in decision, their words were evasive; the replies that "Ulysses" Tseretelli made to the delegations were void of any political import. It was clear that all the official leaders were in a state of expectation.

On the night of the 4th the first "safe" troops arrived from the front. During the session of the Executive Committee there resounded from within the walls of the palace the strains of a brass band playing the "Marseillaise." The faces of the members of the committee were immediately transformed. The self-assurance which they had lost during the last few days returned to them. It was the Volhynian regiment which was entering the Tauride Palace, the same regiment which, a few months later, marched under our flags in the vanguard of the October revolution.

This event changed the aspect of

everything. The Executive Committee threw off all restraint in replying to the delegations of workmen and soldiers and to the representatives of the Baltic fleet. From the balcony of the committee came words referring to armed rioting, which "troops faithful to the Government" had just repressed. The Bolsheviks were declared a counter-revolutionary party. The anguish of the upper bourgeoisie during the last two days of armed demonstration now gave way to an intense hatred, not only in the columns of the papers, but also in the streets of Petrograd, and especially on the Nevsky Prospekt, where the workmen and soldiers who were arrested in the act of "criminal agitation" received a frightful beating. Ensigns, officers, shock troops, Knights of St. George, remained the masters of the situation. At their head stood the uncompromising counter-revolutionaries. In the city the offensive against the labor organizations and the institutions of our party was pitilessly pursued. Arrests, domicile visits, bastonnades and assassinations occurred on every hand.

During the night of the 4th the Minister of Justice, M. Pereversev, gave out for publication "documents" which purported to show that the leaders of the Bolshevik Party were paid German agents. The leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and of the Mensheviks had known us too long and too intimately to believe these charges; but they were too much interested in having them believed to repudiate them openly. To this day we cannot think without disgust of those orgies of falsehood overflowing the pages of all the bourgeois and moderate press.

Our own papers were stifled. The Petrograd revolutionists felt that the province and the army were far from being in their favor. In the workmen's quarters there was a short period of disorder. Repressive measures began in the garrison against disbanded regiments, and various units were disarmed, while the leaders of the Soviet "manufactured" a new Ministry, including the representatives of the landholding bourgeois parties, who were not only incapable of supporting the Government in

any way, but could only take from it the last iota of revolutionary initiative.

#### MILITARY COLLAPSE

And at the front events merely followed their course. The organism of the army was shaken through and through. The soldiers had convinced themselves that the majority of the officers who at the beginning of the revolution, with a view to personal protection, had displayed the red cockade were hostile to the new régime. At the main headquarters counter-revolutionary elements were openly chosen. The Bolshevik publications, meanwhile, were relentlessly pursued.

The offensive was soon transformed into a tragic retreat. The bourgeois press overflowed in furious calumnies against the army; and, though on the eve of the offensive, the directing parties had told us that we were a completely negligible quantity, that the army knew nothing about us, and wanted to know nothing about us, now, that the opening of the offensive had come to such a tragic end, these same individuals and parties sought to throw all the responsibility for this failure upon our shoulders.

The prisons were packed with workmen and soldier revolutionists. The Magistrates of the former courts of the Czaristic period were charged to investigate the events of July 3, 4 and 5. It was under these conditions that the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and the Mensheviks invited Lenin, Zinoviev and our other comrades to give themselves up voluntarily into the hands of "Justice."

#### AFTER THE DAYS OF JULY

The period of disorder in the workmen's quarter lasted but a short time, and was succeeded by great revolutionary activity, not only among the proletariat, but also in the Petrograd garrison. The moderates lost all influence, the stream of Bolshevism began to overflow from the urban centres over the whole country, and, overcoming all obstacles, invaded the army.

The new Coalition Government, headed by Kerensky, openly began reprisals. The Ministry re-established the penalty

of death for offenses committed by soldiers. Our papers were stifled and our agitators imprisoned, but this only strengthened our influence. Despite all the impediments put in the way of re-election to the Soviet of Petrograd, the balance of forces had been so shifted that in some important questions we already had a majority. It was the same with the Moscow Soviet.

At this time I, myself, together with many other comrades, was detained in the Kresty Prison "for agitation and organization of armed revolt on July 3, 4 and 5, at the instigation of the German Government, and with the intention of furthering the war aims of the Hohenzollerns." The examining Judge of the Czarist régime, Alexandrov, who was no nonentity, and who had numerous trials of revolutionists to his credit, received instructions to defend the republic against the counter-revolutionary Bolsheviks.

Under the old régime political and criminal prisoners were distinguished. This distinction was succeeded by a new terminology: the common law criminals and the Bolsheviks.

The majority of the soldiers who had been arrested were perplexed. They were young boys from the country who had previously known nothing about politics, and who had believed that the revolution had brought them freedom once and for all. But now they were amazed to find themselves behind bolted doors and grated windows. During the daily exercise they asked me each time with great anxiety what it all means and how it would end. I consoled them by assuring them that the ultimate victory would be for us.

#### THE KORNILOV AFFAIR

[M. Trotzky at this point takes up the Kornilov affair in some detail. He represents it as an attempt of the bourgeois class, including Kerensky and others, to give the Bolshevik revolutionary elements a lesson, and explains Kornilov's subsequent abandonment as due to fear of the consequences of the latter's success. Kornilov's defeat he ascribes to the thoroughness of the Bolshevik propaganda, which turned the revolutionary masses against him as an exponent of imperialism. Despite the favorable outcome of the Kornilov revolt no immediate

political transformation could occur, because of the still existing effects of the repression of the July revolts, which had made the revolutionary masses and their leaders much more prudent. One tangible accomplishment, however, was the gaining of a Bolshevik preponderance in both the Petrograd and the Moscow Soviets, and the steady falling into line of the provincial Soviets under the same system. Confident of a majority in the approaching second Soviet Congress, the Bolsheviks favored it in opposition to the plan of a "Democratic Congress." This project was advocated vigorously by the Socialist-Revolutionists as a weapon to be used both against the Bolsheviks and against Kerensky, who had reached an extreme stage of arbitrary irresponsibility, though in reality his belief in his own power was mostly pure delusion. Kerensky, in fact, had become one of those "personal factors" whose elimination it would be the duty of the coming Democratic Congress, composed of Soviet representatives, diplomatic councils, zemstvos, trade bodies, and labor unions, to effectuate.

This Democratic Congress was convened in the middle of September by Tseretelli and his associates. M. Trotzky characterizes it as "a combination of Soviets and autonomous organs, 'closed' in such a way as to assure the predominance of the moderate parties." It was, he asserts, a miserable fiasco. The bourgeois landholders, fearing dispossession, showed extreme hostility; the revolutionist proletariat and the peasant and soldier masses condemned the illiberal methods employed for the convocation of the Assembly. The voting on the question of a Coalition Government showed extreme inconsistency, the project of coalition with the bourgeoisie obtaining only a few more votes than the contrary tendency. Coalition with the Cadets was rejected, but secret negotiations ultimately led to their inclusion as—social workers! The Soviet, eliminated from the Democratic Conference, was to be completed by representatives of the landholding class: this pre-parliament would function until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The whole result of the conference was a victory of the landholding bourgeoisie over the lower middle class. The study of M. Trotzky continues as follows:]

The inner situation, however, became more and more complicated and difficult. The war dragged on, purposeless, meaningless, and hopeless. The new Coalition Government did nothing to escape from this vicious circle. It was at this time that the ridiculous plan was formed of sending to Paris the Menshevik Skobelev to influence the Entente imperialists. But no sensible man took this plan seriously.

Petrograd was threatened, but the

bourgeois elements showed a malicious joy, all too obvious, before the danger. The former President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko, declared openly that the capture by the Germans of a centre of corruption like Petrograd would be no great misfortune. He cited the case of Riga, where, after the entrance of the Germans, the Soviet had been abolished and public order restored by the police organization of the old régime. "The Baltic fleet is lost; but this fleet is gorged by revolutionary propaganda, and consequently the loss of the fleet deserves no great amount of lamentation," he said. This cynicism of a verbose grand seigneur expressed the secret thoughts of the bourgeois circles.

The Kerensky Government had no intention of seriously defending the city; on the contrary, it prepared public opinion for an eventual capitulation. The various branches of the Government had already been transferred to Moscow and to other cities. It was at this juncture that the group of soldiers of the Petrograd Soviet assembled. The state of mind was tense and disquieted. "The Government is unable to defend Petrograd? Then let it make peace! And if it cannot make peace, let it fall and be damned!"

This point of view expressed the opinion of the soldier group. The day of the October revolution was already dawning. At the front the situation was steadily growing worse. Autumn was approaching with its cold, its rain and mire. A fourth Winter of war was imminent. The food was becoming worse every day. The rear had forgotten the front; there were neither relief forces, reinforcements, nor the warm garments required for the regiments. Desertions multiplied. The old Soldier Committees, which had been elected during the first period of the revolution, continued to function and supported the policy of Kerensky. No re-election was authorized. Between the committees and the mass of soldiers an abyss was being created. The soldiers finally reached a point where they felt nothing but hatred for the committees. More and more frequently delegates from the trenches came to Petro-

grad, and at all the sessions of the Petrograd Soviet they asked the same insistent question: "What is to be done? Through whom and how is the war to be ended? Why does the Petrograd Soviet remain silent?"

#### STRUGGLE FOR POWER

But the Petrograd Soviet did not remain silent. It demanded the immediate delivery to the Soviets of all the central and local power, as well as the immediate handing over of the land to the peasants; the control of production by labor and the immediate opening of peace negotiations. As long as we were merely an opposition party, our rallying cry and the slogan of our propaganda was "All power to the Soviets." But as soon as we had a majority in all the principal Soviets, this rallying cry imposed on us the necessity of beginning a direct and immediate struggle to obtain this power.

In the country districts the situation was extremely confused and complex. The revolution had promised lands to the peasants, but the directing parties forbade the peasants from touching those lands before the convening of the Constituent. At first the peasants waited patiently. When they began to lose patience the Coalition Ministry adopted violent measures.

The convening of the Constituent Assembly, meanwhile, was constantly deferred. The upper middle class did not wish to convene the Constituent until after the conclusion of peace. The peasant masses lost patience more and more. What we had predicted at the beginning of the revolution began to be fulfilled—the peasants seized the land on their own account. Reprisals by the Government were intensified; one after the other the peasant revolutionary committees were arrested. In some districts Kerensky had proclaimed martial law.

Rural deputations thronged to the Petrograd Soviet. They complained at the arrest of the peasants for having, in accordance with the program of the Petrograd Soviet, transferred the landed estates to the peasant committees. The peasants counted on our protection. We

replied to them that we could protect them only if we were in power. The conclusion was that if the Soviets did not wish to be mere talking bodies they must gain possession of the Governmental power.

Our neighbors of the Right told us that it was an act of folly to begin a struggle to obtain power for the Soviets within a month and a half of the convening of the Constituent. But we were by no means infected with the Constituent fetish, all the less so as we had no guarantee that it would really be convened.

The demoralization of the army, the wholesale desertions, the food distress,

the agrarian revolts, had all created an unfavorable situation for elections to the Constituent. The eventual surrender of Petrograd to the Germans threatened, moreover, to wipe the question of elections from Governmental discussion. And then, even if the Constituent Assembly should meet under the authority of the old parties, and on the basis of the old electoral lists, it would become only a mask and a means of justification for the Coalition Government. Neither the Socialist-Revolutionists nor the Mensheviks would be able to take over power without the assistance of the upper bourgeoisie.

[To be Continued]

## Allenby—Victor of Jerusalem

Career of the Famous British General, Culminating in Honors  
Paid Him by the City of London

**F**IELD-MARSHAL SIR EDMUND ALLENBY, Commander in Chief of the British Army in Egypt and Palestine, received the freedom of the City of London on Oct. 7, 1919, and was presented with a sword of honor commemorating the victories gained by him against the Germans and Turks in the Levant, culminating in the capture of Jerusalem. At a brilliant ceremony in the venerable Guildhall, which was hung with many flags and colorful with the uniforms of distinguished soldiers, in the presence of the greatest personages of the British realm, a laudatory speech on Marshal Allenby's exploits was delivered by the City Chamberlain, Sir Adrian Pollock; the freedom of the city was presented, and the sword of honor, a richly decorated gift, supplied by the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, was formally conferred. In reply, General Allenby reviewed his historic campaign. Later, at an elaborate luncheon at the Mansion House, speeches were made by the Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George, and Sir Douglas Haig,

to all of which General Allenby made a suitable reply.

In a number of these speeches, which marked the crowning point of General Allenby's long career, the chief facts of his life were brought out. He had not originally intended to enter the British Army. From Haileybury, where he was educated, he attempted to pass the difficult examination for the Indian Civil Service, and failed. This failure led him to change his plans and enter the army. He joined the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons in 1882, and had his first fighting experience in the Bechuanaland expedition of 1884. In 1888 he served in the operations in Zululand. Subsequently he went through the Staff College course, where his remarkable abilities and strong personality attracted much attention.

Like many of the foremost British Generals in the European war, Allenby served with distinction in the South African war, taking part in the relief of Kimberley, the operations at Paardeburg, and many subsequent actions. He was three times mentioned in dispatches for distinguished services, and received the

brevet rank of Colonel, the Queen's medal with six clasps, and the King's medal with two. In 1902 he was in command of the 5th Lancers, and was subsequently appointed to command the 4th Cavalry Brigade. Afterward he became Inspector of Cavalry; this important post he held until the outbreak of the war.

Sir Edmund went to France as a corps commander under Lord French, and took a notable share in the magnificent but unequal struggle sustained by the "Old Contemptibles." In command of the Cavalry Corps in the Expeditionary Force, he covered the British front until the Germans launched their great attack through Mons. His cavalry again played a brilliant part at Le Cateau, and in the subsequent retreat, where the critical work of reaguard fell to Allenby and his men.

At the second battle of Ypres, the Field Marshal took up the command of the 5th Corps, and defended the Ypres salient successfully through the Summer of 1915. He was then appointed to the command of the now famous Third Army, which, among other exploits, fought the battle of Arras under his orders on Easter Monday, 1917. In this battle the Vimy Ridge was stormed and 16,000 prisoners and 150 guns were taken.

#### CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST

In 1918, soon after these exploits, General Allenby was appointed to head the campaign against the Germans and the Turks in the East, a campaign which the Prime Minister said in the House of Commons was "the last and most triumphant of the Crusades, the completion of an enterprise which absorbed the chivalry of Europe for centuries." The character of that victory and the generalship which secured it appealed universally to the imagination of the British people.

Despite the fact that, before his offensive began, his army had been reduced from a total strength of 316,000 to under 293,000 between March and August, 1918, Lord Allenby carried through in six weeks, between Sept. 19 and Oct. 30, one of the most brilliant campaigns in the history of the British Army. In this

short time the army of Syria, operating in a rugged country and under extraordinarily complicated difficulties of supply as regards food, water, and munitions, attacked and completely defeated the Turkish Army, which was well intrenched and skillfully led, captured 75,000 prisoners and 350 guns, advanced a distance of over 300 miles, from Samara to Aleppo, and compelled the Tur-



FIELD-MARSHAL SIR EDMUND ALLENBY

kish Government, owing to the utter destruction of its army, to ask for a cessation of hostilities.

It is not too much to say that these brilliant results were achieved owing to Lord Allenby's skillful use of resources which, so far from being excessive, might, on the contrary, be regarded as barely adequate for the task in hand, and that these resources were only the residue of what was left him after all the needs of the British Army on the main front in the west had been fully supplied.

#### ALLENBY'S OWN STORY

The detailed record of this campaign has been given by General Allenby in his official dispatches, which have been printed from time to time in *CURRENT HISTORY*. The following intimate sum-

mary, however, embodied in his reply to the City Chamberlain at the Guildhall ceremony, is well worthy of being added to the record:

As regards my campaign in Palestine and Syria, I should like to say how indebted I am to the London Division under Sir John Shea. He was with me in the Third Army in France. He did not take part in the Arras battle because the 60th Division was transferred to Saloniki, but before I began my campaign in Palestine and Syria, the 60th Division joined me from Saloniki, with Sir Edward Bulfin, who handed over the division to Sir John Shea, who commanded in Palestine and Syria. That division took a very leading part in the capture of Beersheba. Further, it was the division which eventually accepted the surrender of Jerusalem. When I say accepted the surrender, the general officer commanding that division had orders and took the greatest pains to preserve Jerusalem from any sort of injury. The capture of the city was delayed, for several days owing to the necessity of avoiding damage to the city itself. It was gradually surrounded, and the city itself surrendered to him without a shot being fired in the neighborhood of it. Subsequently, the 60th Division fought in the Jordan Valley in the Spring and Summer of last year, 1,300 feet below the level of the sea, in intense heat and every sort of physical discomfort. They fought there the whole of the early part of the Summer and took part, or practically carried out, with the help of the cavalry, the Australian Light Horse, and the New Zealand mounted troops, two great raids on the Hedjaz railway.

The first raid was at the end of March last year. The 60th Division got to Es Salt, and supported the New Zealanders right up to the hills, but the weather was atrocious, coming from the heat of the Jordan Valley to the bitter cold, snow, rain, and sleet of 5,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea, which meant about 6,000 to 7,000 feet above the Jordan, and they were unable to hold what they had so gallantly won. The second raid was made at the end of April or the beginning of May last year, with the same objective. All my mounted troops took part in it. The London Division again supported them, and had terrible fighting in the hills, trying to break their way through to open a second road to join up with the cavalry and mounted troops, who had already arrived there. The troops of his Royal Highness the Emir Feisal co-operated gallantly from south of Amman. The Turks were too strong for us, and again we had to withdraw. The result of this was that we applied a blister to that part of the Turkish front, which drew a whole Turkish Army over there,

and there they remained. The effect of that action of the London troops and our Arab allies, with the mounted troops and cavalry of the Dominions and India, enabled us to proceed with our preparations for an attack on the other flank, without any fear for our right flank.

#### IN THE JORDAN VALLEY

From the headquarters of Liman von Sanders we found that the enemy staff expected an attack along the Jordan Valley. I do not know why, but I suppose they thought that we could not attack them along the seacoast, because they thought that the necessity of keeping in touch with the Arabs would prevent me from moving anywhere else. I knew that his Royal Highness Emir Feisal would recover that flank for us, and I kept sufficient mounted troops—I kept the whole Anzac mounted division—in that valley the whole Summer. I was told by all the textbooks and authorities that no troops could be kept in the valley during the Summer, 1,300 feet below sea level, and in a heat which could be hardly named, and under frightful conditions of malaria. But we attacked the mosquito, drained the swamps, burned the bush, canalized the streams, and oiled the pools, and we were able to stay there. After we crossed the Turkish lines, we tumbled into it, and got sickness very bad. In six weeks from Sept. 19, when I attacked, I lost three times as many men by disease—malaria and influenza—as by wounds in battle. That was not in our own ground, but when we had reached the Turkish area, where they had not taken precautions for attacking malaria.

The London Division, after all its good work in the mountains throughout the Spring and Summer of last year, was called upon again to make the first hole in the attack on Sept. 19. The 60th Division was not the old London Division now. The call for troops in Europe prevented Londoners being sent out to keep it up to the old London establishments, and, although there was a nucleus of two battalions left in the division, the rest was composed of Indian troops, and many of those were quite raw and had to be trained during the few weeks that remained between May and the end of August. They had to be trained to war and made efficient fighting soldiers, and that was done. The old spirit of the London Division remained in the cadre and animated it as it had in the past. That 60th Division in the attack of Sept. 19 attacked right on the coastline, and its mission was to break a hole for the cavalry to go through, and it carried out that mission splendidly. I was up there at 5:30 in the morning, when the division was ready to attack. By 6:15 three divisions of cavalry began

to pour through the gap made. They were told to go right away through the Turkish Army. The 60th Division went on fighting throughout the whole of the hostilities, and continued to take as leading a part as it had done before.

#### ATTRACTIVE "LADIES"

There is one little point which shows the spirit of that division. Before it attacked at Beersheba it was exercising so hard to keep fit that the general officer commanding ordered the men to eat and drink more and not to do so much work. They were wrestling and taking every possible exercise, and they also kept up the very best theatrical musical comedy company I have ever seen in my life. Later that entertaining company went down to Cairo, stayed there about a month, and cut out every other entertainment in the place. There were two "ladies" in that company, who broke the hearts of all the youths in Cairo, who swarmed around the stage door, but never saw the "ladies" come out. The "ladies" never did come out. I do not want to be

too discursive, but I thought you would like to know something about the London Division which did so well.

When I mention the London Division I do not want to depreciate any other. They all did well. I had an army such as a man has seldom commanded. In spite of its number of different units—there were ten or twelve nationalities—they all worked together and worked for one aim. I should like to refer again to the loyal work done by our gallant allies in the East. A commander was never more loyally supported by allies than I was by the Emir Feisal, who is one of my greatest friends, and I am glad to see him sitting here today. I thank you again for the reception you have given me, for the sword of honor which I have received, and for the inestimable privilege of being numbered among the freemen of this great city in this ancient hall. It is an honor which falls to few people, and it is an honor which no one can prize more than I do. In accepting this sword of honor, I shall look upon it as a gage of honor to remind me of my duties to London, to my country, and to my King.

## The Straits of Constantinople

By DR. J. F. SCHELTEMA

ONE of the curious developments of the war, which presented so many strange aspects, was the effort of a British fleet, aided by the French Navy and a strong army operating on land, to open the Straits of Constantinople for the relief, in the first place, of—Russia. British warships had been up those Straits on earlier errands, in 1807, even as on this occasion, to comply with the obligations of a short-lived Russian alliance, but then guided by a different policy based on considerations of an exactly opposite character, though always in keeping with Britain's traditional attitude toward the chronic Eastern question. When her course, if not her aims, gradually veered round, as indicated by her treaties and agreements of 1904 and 1907, which were followed by the frightful conflagration that flamed up in 1914 from long-smoldering animosities, the world was notified of what would have seemed impossible a few years, nay, only a few months, before.

In reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, announced on Feb. 25, 1915, Britain's consent to Russia's free egress from and ingress into the Black Sea. True, this concession was prudently hedged; nevertheless, it denoted the passing away of a phase of British diplomacy worn out since the opening of the Suez Canal, a fortiori since the stipulations of the entente cordiale concerning Egypt versus Morocco.

Diplomatic squabbles and armed conflicts for the possession of Constantinople are of much older birth than the city's comparatively modern name. Its advantageous position as a bridgehead between Orient and Occident has drawn on it and on its successive occupants, last but not least on the Sultans of the house of Othman, the bone-breaker, that long series of encroachments which crystallized into the disgraceful scramble characteristic especially of the more recent stages

of the Eastern question. Thus far absolutely insolvable, thanks to international rivalries, the problem involved touches primarily the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, those narrow inlets and outlets of the Sea of Marmora, intended by nature for a double gate of entrance to the Black Sea and the wealth of Asia beyond.

#### MEDIAEVAL FORTIFICATIONS

Blazing a path for the European conquests of his descendants, the Emir Orchan, son of the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, had already made himself felt in the waters of the classic ox ford and the Sea of Helle, notorious pools of dissension between East and West from the most remote antiquity on. Masters, after Mohamed II., of the northern as of the southern coastline, his successors did not delay tightening their hold by means of the two strongholds which became famous under the name of the "old castles," Rumely Hissar on the European and Anatoly Hissar on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. In 1642, under Sultan Ibrahim, Saddul-Bahr, the sea-barrier, and Chanaq Qaleh, or fortress of the potteries, were built to remain for a while the sole works of defense on the western waterfront, which unpreparedness gave, in 1649, the Venetians an opportunity to enter the Dardanelles and anchor off Gallipoli, from where, however, Derwis Pasha obliged them to retire. Two more castles or fortresses were then erected, facing each other across the water on the hills of Yeni Sihir and Baba Yussof, according to plans outlined by the spirited Sultane Validé, the mother of Mohamed IV. But, though the battle of Lepanto and naval engagements of a younger date had demonstrated the urgent necessity of taking the Dardanelles still further in hand, it was not before the Grand Vizier Mohamed Kiuprilli's firm rule that Qoom Qaleh, or fortress of the sands, and Kilid Bahr, the key to the sea, were constructed at their mouth, while nine other fortifications and eight batteries completed his system of defense between 1678 and 1700.

After a new period of inaction the diligent Baron de Tott, one of the numerous agents sent to Turkey by the Duke of Choiseul to assist the Sublime Porte

against Catherine II. for the benefit of France and greater glory of Louis XV., saw to it that the Dardanelles had again their due amount of care, fully aware as he was of their strategic value.

#### HEAVY MOSLEM GUNS

A good deal has been said by old historians and travelers about the big guns mounted on the shores of Bosphorus and Dardanelles in those and earlier days. It is well known that the Turks in their conquest of European lands, which they began to invade under the leadership of Orchan's son Soliman, and particularly in their final investment of Constantinople, made a clever use of artillery, far surpassing their Christian foes by their skill in the manufacture and manipulation of ordnance. Mohamed II. had, moreover, a certain Urban in his service, a Hungarian renegade and a worker in metals by trade, who founded a cannon described as the biggest ever seen. This monster gun threw enormous balls of stone and sank as its first victim a Venetian blockade runner, which exploit commended it so highly to the Sultan that he had it transported to his camp before the walls of Constantinople. Seven hundred men were required to bring it in position, and it needed three hours of rest to cool off after every discharge, while to its right and left two pieces of smaller calibre kept up the task of widening with twenty-two-pound balls the breach it had made. When these engines of destruction had been wheeled to one of the town gates, which showed signs of weakening, and the prime-holes of the trio were touched with the fuse to finish the job by bringing the bridge tower down, Urban directing the fire, a tremendous crash startled the besieging army and besieged garrison alike. Not the barbican had come to grief, though, but Urban's giant cannon, blowing up and killing him with a score of the Padishah's artillerists on the spot.

#### PROPERTY OF THE SULTANS

From 1453 on the Ottoman Sultans held the Bosphorus and Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora, like the Black Sea, to be their exclusive property. According to Dmitry Galitzin, Peter the Great's envoy

to the Sublime Porte, they considered especially the latter their private domain, where nobody was allowed to penetrate, Mustapha comparing its status to that of a virgin reserved for fine disport in his harem, and "he would rather have war than permit any one to navigate it." Peter's taking of Azov changed the situation. Catherine II., extending her empire, continued that work of southern expansion. Potemkin's victories, the formal annexation of the Crimea, the Peace of Jassy, Jan. 9, 1792, established Russia as Turkey's neighbor on the Euxine.

None the less, that maiden once unapproachable, save as it might please the Grand Signeur, could yet be isolated by closing the double door of Bosphorus and Dardanelles until Britain succeeded in gaining a joint control of the key to her favors, which feat greatly agitated her lover on the Neva, too, the more so since the occupation of the classic Taurus had brought him, the White Czar, a wide step forward on his way to Byzantium. To cite Danilewsky: "Russia's right to let her warships pass from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean is nothing but the right to pass from her inner court to the outside world; the (alleged) right of other powers to let their warships enter the Black Sea at their will is the (alleged) right to invade our inner court for the sake of pillage."

#### IN NAPOLEON'S DAY

One of the results of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, which, for a moment, united Sultan and Czar in their common apprehension of his ultimate purpose, was free access for the Russian Navy to the Mediterranean through Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Thereupon the Peace of Tilsit introduced a different combination—the two Emperors thought that they could pool their covetings to mutual advantage. But Alexander I. asked too much. Napoleon hesitated. "Constantinople," he was heard to mutter, "Constantinople, never! The possession of Constantinople means world dominion." Accordingly, the negotiations between Paris and St. Petersburg failed, and Sébastiani, Napoleon's envoy to the Sublime Porte, became so unpleasantly active that the English Ambassador Arbuthnot

demanded his dismissal and the instant co-operation of Turkey with England and Russia against France. No reply being vouchsafed, Admiral Duckworth, in command of a fleet off Tenedos, received instructions to proceed to Constantinople and prepare for a bombardment of that town. Though the Turkish fleet in the Sea of Marmora was destroyed, Admiral Duckworth had to withdraw and sustained severe losses on his return voyage, Sébastiani having made it his business to equip the fortifications of the Dardanelles for that emergency. By the Treaty of Jan. 5, 1809, the Sultan engaged himself to keep the Straits closed, and England declared that from her no further attempts to force them were to be feared if he saw to it that all the other powers respected the compact. This was intended as a blow for Russia, and the antagonism displayed furnished the sick man of Stamboul with a handy trump card in the diplomatic game which he learned to play with consummate skill.

#### IN THE VICTORIAN EPOCH

On Oct. 20, 1827, the combined squadrons of Britain, Russia, and France defeated the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the Bay of Navarino. In 1833 Russia was on the side of Turkey against her rebellious vassal and obtained in reward of her services the Sultan's signature to the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessy, which annulled that of Jan. 5, 1809, and established a Russian protectorate in the guise of a defensive alliance. The second Turco-Egyptian unpleasantness gave Lord Palmerston an opportunity to resuscitate British predominance, and Article 4 of the Convention of London, July 15, 1840, laid down the closure of the Dardanelles as a principle of international policy, binding in still wider sense when France rejoined the European concert by her adhesion to the agreement of July 13, 1841. Henceforth it was the Sultan's duty to keep the Straits closed *sans phrase*, and the insistence on his renunciation of the right to open them at his will implied a curtailment of his sovereignty, guaranteed by the powers themselves, that humbled him. Yet, during the Crimean War, his

British and French allies sent, as a matter of course, their battleships and troopships through the gate which they were so anxious to lock and bar against their rivals.

The Treaty of Paris, concluded on March 30, 1856, which, by the way, admitted Turkey "to participate in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe," and guaranteed besides "the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire," (Article 7,) added to the stipulations of 1840 and 1841 this other one that the Black Sea should be neutralized, its waters and its ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, but formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war of the powers possessing its coasts or of any other power. (Article 11.) Russia was forbidden to have there any military-maritime arsenal or any kind of navy except a small number of lightly armed vessels for the coast service. A century and a half after Peter the Great secured for her an outlet to the south, she had lost more in that quarter than she had won, and she felt terribly aggrieved.

Small wonder that, when the Franco-Prussian war changed the international outlook, Prince Gortschakov, notified by his circular dispatch of Oct. 31, 1870, the co-signatory Governments of his imperial master's decision to renounce the Treaty of Paris, repudiating in particular the obligations derogatory to Russia's rights in the Black Sea. The protocol which embodied the result of the Conference of London, in the course of the next year, accepted the Czar's defection, Article 2 authorizing the Sultan to open the Dardanelles and Bosphorus "in time of peace to vessels of war of friendly and allied powers, in case the Sublime Porte should judge it necessary to secure the execution of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris." The Congress of Berlin, held in 1878, from which British diplomacy, personified in Lord Beaconsfield, could carry home the glad assurance of "peace with honor," simply confirmed the status of the Straits as successively defined in 1841, 1856, and 1871. But, says M. René Pinon, in one of his brilliant disquisitions on international

problems, Lord Beaconsfield, elated by his success, presumed too much on the future, believing that he could count upon the uninterrupted continuity of preponderant British influence at Constantinople.

#### CONCESSIONS TO RUSSIA

At the occasion of the Armenian disturbance of 1895 the powers asked and obtained permission to station each a second warship off Galata. In 1897 Russia was allowed to dispatch troopships through the Straits on the same footing as, before and after that date, the ships of her so-called volunteer fleet. But when in 1902 she wished to reinforce her Black Sea squadron with four torpedo-boat destroyers from Kronstadt, Sultan Abdul Hamil II. seemed inclined to refuse. As usual there was much mining and countermining in the diplomatic circles of Stamboul, but at last the advice to yield, whispered from Berlin, if rumor did not err, silenced the arguments of the obstructionists, and the imperial assent was given by an irade which had no sooner been signed at Yildiz Kiosk than the four destroyers left for their destination. This, however, did not end the affair. Three months afterward, Jan. 6, 1903, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, Ambassador of the Court of St. James's to the Sublime Porte, presented a note wherein he stated that his Government, apprised of the passage of Russian warships through the Straits, would not hesitate to avail itself of this precedent whenever it saw fit to claim the same privilege for British warships.

And so, by the irony of fate, Russia and Britain, playing at *chassé-circisé*, interchanged the diametrically opposite views of the question of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles defended in 1878 by their respective plenipotentiaries at Berlin as in 1840 at London and in 1856 at Paris, trimming their ideas of international equity to make them agree with their shifting interests.

#### MORE RECENT INCIDENTS

When it was thought at St. Petersburg that a prompt display of naval strength in the Far East might materially affect the issue of the war with

Japan, the best squadron Russia boasted had to stay in the Black Sea, bottled up by treaties and agreements of which Japan's well-wishers in Europe supervised the desired interpretation. Instead, the Baltic fleet was ordered to go under command of Admiral Rozhestvensky, who enlivened its roundabout voyage with the Dogger Bank episode and finally met crushing defeat off Tsushima.

The movements of the volunteer fleet that left Odessa to supply the Russian Navy in eastern seas with coal and provisions, or to harass foreign merchantmen chartered by the enemy, were greatly hampered by all sorts of regulations. Turco-Russian antipathy, adroitly exploited by third parties, militated worse than in any period of the past against the Black Sea remaining the Sultan's or becoming the Czar's, while the former's lordship over the Dardanelles and Bosporus, even over the Istambool Boghaz, the channel between Constantinople and Scutari, was disregarded whenever it suited the leader of the moment in the Western European concert.

The incident of the Russian ironclad whose mutinous crew, after an insane cruise, appeared with her before Burgas and Constantza, at last ingloriously to surrender to the Rumanian authorities, proved likewise, if proof had been necessary, that besides Russians and Turks, other nationalities were astir in the Black Sea to dispute the pretensions of either of them. Both Rumania and Bulgaria, ignoring the question whether they had a right to any warships at all, seized upon the short but wild career of the Knvaz Potemkin as a pretext to increase the embryonic navies which they had quietly acquired, and to put their harbors in a better state of defense.

#### MODERN FORTIFICATIONS

As regards the defenses of the Bosporus and Dardanelles, the work commenced by Sultan Mohamed II. and recommended by Mohamed Kiuprili had been continued with the fits and starts and indolent delays characteristic of Turkish endeavor. There was a renewal of vigilant display in 1827 when Admiral Cochrane, having entered the Greek serv-

ice, menaced Constantinople without, however, substantiating that threat. At the example of de Tott and Sébastiani, General von Moltke and General von der Goltz gave successively their attention to the Straits, followed, also in this respect, by General Liman von Sanders, as the Franco-British fleet hammering at the forts between Qoom Qaleh and Gallipoli experienced to its cost without effecting an entrance to the Golden Horn. Neither did the Black Sea squadron, steaming up to its eastern approach, accomplish the capture of Constantinople.

Alexander II. pledged on Nov. 2, 1876, his sacred word to Lord Loftus, then British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople or identifying himself with the aims of Peter the Great and Catherine II., the stories of whose ambitious schemes were, moreover, largely a figment of the imagination. Not seventeen months later came the Treaty of San Stefano to show that no Russian Czar, whatever his assertions to the contrary, could resist the fascination of "the precious jewel of the Thracian Chersonese, contrived to clasp two continents."

#### FATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Assigned to Russia under the régime now defunct by an agreement among the Allies, principally due to the persistence of M. Sazonov when Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and announced to the Duma on Dec. 2, 1916, by the Russian Premier, Trepov, its award fell in abeyance owing to the Brest-Litovsk arrangement and Bolshevik reign of terror. As Mr. Lloyd George gave to understand in the House of Commons on Dec. 20, 1917, improving upon Sir Edward Grey's reservation of Feb. 25, 1915, "the fact that Russia entered into separate negotiations disposes of all questions about Constantinople"—i. e., with respect to Russian aspirations in that quarter. Lucky, perhaps, for Russia, because, apart from Bismarck's hypothetical forecast, Constantinople has always been a source of danger to its overlords. With the Allies in possession, we may also expect another prophecy to reach fulfillment.

When, according to the legend, Mo-

hamed II. entered St. Sophia on horseback after his troops had forced the town gates and scaled the ramparts, and made the imprint of his bloody hand on the inner wall in token of his appropriating the Christian Church for Moslem uses, a priest was celebrating mass at the high altar, surrounded by the wives and daughters of the sanctuary's defenders, who, praying and wailing, counted upon a miracle to save it and themselves from Turkish lordship and violence. But, no miracle stemming the tide of Mohamed's onslaught, the priest suspended his holy office and, gathering together the sacred vessels, carried them in solemn procession toward the sacristy. Brandishing their scimitars and heading him off, the

invaders had almost attained him and his flock when, lo! he vanished from their sight. At first they thought that he had escaped through a secret passage, but wherever they tested the masonry of the solid walls, it gave no sign of sliding panels or masked doors. And it is said that up to this day, on every anniversary of Mohamed's capture of the City of Constantine, near the mark of his hand a faint sound is heard as of psalms and canticles being chanted in some hidden recess; that at the moment of St. Sophia's restoration to Christian worship, the wall will open in that place and the priest will step forth to finish his mass so rudely interrupted more than four and a half centuries ago.

## Managing 200,000 Coolies in France

By CAPTAIN HARRY L. GILCHRIESE

**W**HEN the post-war tourist debarks in one of the polyglot ports of France he now sees among the stevedores a colorful sprinkling of coolies from the Far Eastern countries. Predominant among these are Chinese, Indo-Chinese, and Siamese, fused in the cosmopolite melting pot with Turk and Moroccan, Senegalese, and Prussian—all contributing their efforts, willingly or otherwise, to restore to France what four years of chaos destroyed.

These Chinese and their slant-eyed kindred are the outposts of a large army working in every port of France, and on the scenes of the recent world conflict. More than 120,000 of them are engaged in clearing the battlefields preparatory to the colossal scheme of restoration designed for war-ravaged France. This force, working under contract with the British and French Governments, is being continually augmented by new drafts from the Orient. It represents China's contribution to the war. Since 1916 it has been steadily increasing, the bulk coming chiefly from the northern provinces of Chihli and Shantung. It reached its greatest height just prior to the sign-

ing of the armistice, when it numbered almost 200,000. With the British the coolies are engaged for three years, contracts terminable at the option of the Government any time after the first year. The French hold them unreservedly for five years, but retain the right to sublet their services.

During the war the coolie went about his business of laboring in true hero fashion, impassively, and with outward contempt for danger. Frequently air raids, long-range artillery, and poisonous gas resulted fatally for him. Even now he is beset by dangers, the kind that strike him in the dark. Unexploded mines, grenades, "duds," and bombs have increased the already swollen casualty list of the Chinese laborers. But these accidents are always met by coolies with the stoicism so characteristic of the race.

Long before China's doors were open to modernism, church missionaries and representatives of the Y. M. C. A. had gained entrance and were working into the interior of the world's greatest empire. Now 200,000 Chinese have come into personal contact with our Christian civilization. What are their thoughts,



"THEY WERE TAUGHT BOXING AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR KNIFING"  
[© By the American painter, Harry B. Lachman]

and how will these thoughts be expressed upon their return home?

#### FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Arriving from China after a voyage filled with heretofore unknown terrors, a voyage lasting weeks and resulting in strange maladies of the stomach, they were herded together in wire inclosures. English and French officers were placed in immediate command of the labor battalions into which the coolies were grouped, and noncommissioned officers, whose limit of Chinese knowledge was confined to "Chink" and its French equivalent, were assigned as gang foremen. Their charges, willing enough to work, were timorous, bewildered by strange sights, and, perhaps, a little super-sensitive. Gruff commands were misunderstood for insults, and the coolies refused to work.

For example, the English word "go" has a sound which in Chinese is similar to the expression for "dog." The phraseology of the "Tommie" unfortu-

nately is bountifully besprinkled with terms in which "go" is salient. Interpreters were not only difficult but almost impossible to obtain. Much valuable language was wasted on both sides, and more misunderstandings resulted. Strikes, and even riots, occurred with alarming frequency, and many uncompromising things were said by both the party of the first part and the party of the second part.

From the Chinese viewpoint everything was topsy-turvy in this new land of grotesquely dressed people, impossible languages, and peculiar customs. Darkness is the coolie's most dreaded enemy, and it was only natural for him to resent having his customary candle snuffed out. What did he know of air raids and the direful consequences of illuminating the way for "Fritzie"? The sight of the first battleplane surrounded by tiny white puffs of smoke, silhouetted against an azure sky, held him fascinated, astounded; then, at Calais, an air bomb fell in one of the camps, killing twenty Chi-

nese. After that he not only gave them a wire berth, but showed uncommon eagerness to find shelter when a Hun appeared.

#### AVERTING A CRISIS

Conditions were rapidly approaching a crisis in the British labor camps, where the coolies were held in rigid military discipline, when the Y. M. C. A., with a knowledge bred of many years' experience in the Orient, volunteered its services. For several months the "Y" had been urging a program of welfare, pointing out that with adequate interpreters and men who understood Chinese customs the chief source of difficulty would be removed. The British authorities demurred at first, fearing that Chinese-speaking workers in camp might react to the prejudice of military discipline, but this attitude soon underwent a perceptible change. The French had already accepted the Red Triangle as necessary to the successful accomplishment of work by the Chinese.

In 1918 the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. of North America began recruiting secretaries for this new phase of army welfare work. It was required that these secretaries be familiar with Mandarin, the only written language of China. The co-operation of the Chinese branch of the "Y" therefore was enlisted, and for the first time in the history of the world, China sent missionaries abroad. Today, in addition to American and British secretaries, there are more than eighty Christian Chinese students, representatives of universities in America, England, and China, serving the coolie labor battalions in France. They come from fourteen provinces and forty-six cities of China.

#### SUCCESS OF THE EXPERIMENT

Difficulties over orders began to disappear at once. The coolies were overjoyed to find a means of transmitting their desires and needs to their officers. Some one was taking a personal interest in them for the first time in their tempestuous careers on foreign soil. They had wished to write letters home. Practically no one had been able to do this,

and, as a result, relatives in China had not heard from them in six months.

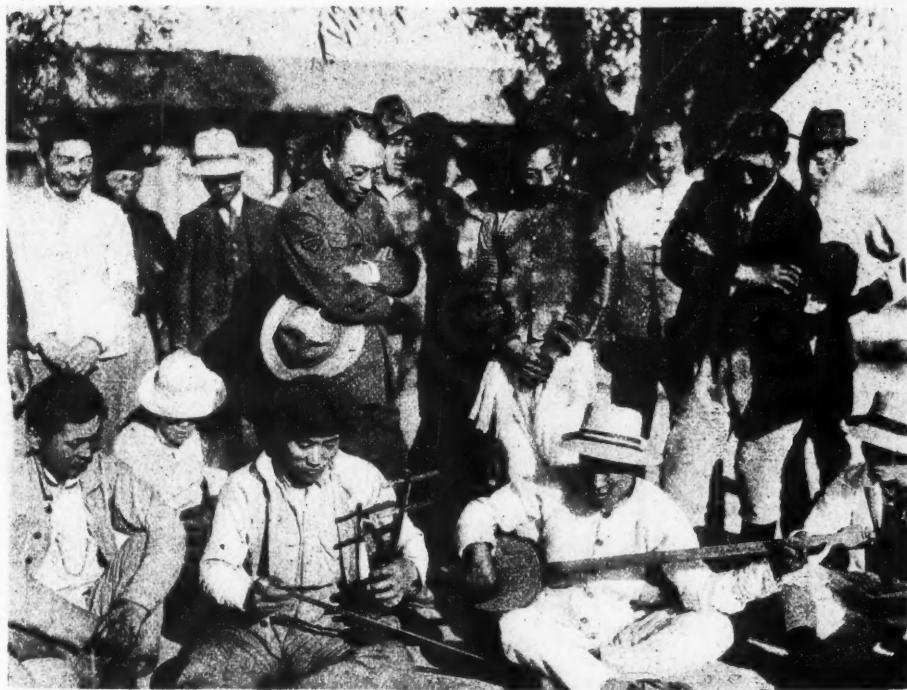
Letter-writing soon became more popular than gambling. Under capable instructors they were taught boxing as a substitute for knifing, (this had been one of their favorite pastimes,) and many a quarrel was settled in the ring before a Y. M. C. A. referee. Baseball and Chinese chess, of which they are very fond, soon replaced idleness and vice. Entertainments in which the performers were attired in their native costumes and provided with weird Chinese musical instruments drew them from the estaminet. So great has been the progress in reading and writing at the night schools in the camps that recently the "Y" started a newspaper printed in Chinese script.

Although the moving pictures and Chinese plays are by far the most popular features of this welfare work, the most beneficial service the "Y" is giving these unlearned Celestials is along educational and vocational lines. These men will exert a great influence on China when they return, and it is imperative that they understand not only the fundamentals upon which Christianity is based, but that they carry home with them an undistorted conception of modern civilization.

The illiteracy of the coolies is the basis of many amusing tales. During a heated discussion among laborers in one of the camps, the theory was advanced that the United States entered the war because the Crown Prince of America had become engaged to a Princess of France, and we were thus bound to support the cause of our newly acquired ally. A favorite subject, often discussed, is the phenomenon whereby so many Chinese came to be assembled in France when some of them went east and some west from China. Many versions of this remarkable discovery have been rendered, in which the sun, the moon, and the stars have been accused of straggling on their respective "beats."

#### EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

These childish ideas are rapidly being dispelled in the elementary classes conducted by the Y. M. C. A., and



"THE PERFORMERS WERE PROVIDED WITH WEIRD CHINESE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS"  
[© By the American painter, Harry B. Lachman]

the vision of the coolie is broadening. His war experience has contributed, in some measure, to this metamorphosis. When understanding first began to replace ignorance in his credulous heart, he worked, and even fought, for his officers when opportunity afforded. In one company two Chinese were awarded the British Distinguished Service Medal for conspicuous bravery. They went through a barrage three times to get food for their company when its supply had been cut off by enemy fire.

The work of the labor battalions did not often take them into advanced positions, but during the onrush of the German horde they were sometimes swept into the maelstrom of battle. Nor did they flinch. One company almost refused to leave the field, begging for helmets and a chance to show their allies the spirit with which the Chinese could fight. During the fiercest fighting in Picardy a British officer commanding a Chinese labor unit was caught in a sudden advance by the enemy and badly gassed.

Although they were hard pressed, the coolies grouped around him and fought with their crude weapons until relief arrived. They might have run and escaped, with a few casualties, but they didn't.

#### ETHICS AND BOMBS

The coolie's methods of warfare did not always follow the ethics of international law. When some German prisoners in a wire inclosure shouted derisively at a gang of passing coolies the insults were taken without show of the slightest emotion. The following day, having purchased some Mills bombs (at 10 francs per bomb) from the willing "Tommies," the coolies proceeded to "mop up" the inclosure, forgetting, however, to pull the magic firing pins which ignite the fuses. The Germans knew how to meet this emergency, and without a moment's delay picked up the bombs, pulled the pins, and hurled them back. The result was disastrous to the coolie brigade. But by the time they had learned their lesson the guards had

taken the situation in charge, and there was no more bombing that day.

These children of the Far East are facing the scars of war. Their contracts are neither remunerative nor easy. They have agreed to work ten hours daily and seven days a week, but they are never held strictly to this agreement. The British give them 1 franc a day, and send a small monthly allowance to their families in China. The French omit this latter ceremony, but pay a trifle more. Both Governments make provision for the la-

borer's family in case of death or disablement. The Chinese are contented with their contracts—in fact, from their point of view the terms are very liberal. They go about their daily business of digging and carrying quite cheerfully, and with a vigor that bids well for the future of new China. It is the duty of the rest of the world to see that, when they finally take leave of the West, they take with them the message that our modern Christian world is worthy of emulation.

## China and Japan

### Aftermath of the Shantung Settlement—Contemporary Events in Both Countries

[PERIOD ENDED Nov. 10, 1919]

**T**HE resentment of the Chinese over the Shantung provisions of the Peace Treaty with Germany continued to find expression during September and October, and the parallel Japanese insistence on the correctness of its intentions underwent no abatement. The discussion of the Shantung award in the United States Senate was closely followed in China, and at the end of July the Shantung Provincial Assembly sent a telegram addressed to "The President, American Senate, Washington," voicing the gratitude of the Chinese for the sympathy of the Senate. The telegram read as follows:

Tsinanfu, China, July 30, 1919.  
The President, American Senate, Washington:

The people of China, and particularly of Shantung, are extremely grateful for the sympathetic understanding of international justice shown by the American Senate concerning the Shantung clauses in the Peace Treaty with Germany. All Sino-German treaties became null and void on China's entry into the war as one of the Allies, and Japan has no right to claim that she is heir to the concessions and privileges taken forcibly from China by Germany.

The treaty of 1915 containing twenty-one demands was forced on China by Japan: the Kiao-Tsi railway agreement, the Kaomi-Hsuchow and Shunteh-Tsinau

railway agreements were negotiated by Chinese traitors, and have not been sanctioned by the national Parliament. Chinese people cannot recognize such treaties and agreements, and will oppose them with the sacrifice of life if necessary.

Sino-American friendship has always been ideal, and to perpetuate this friendship and to maintain everlasting peace in the Far East we, the representatives of the Shantung people, address the American people through the American Senate in the hope that profound consideration will be given to the Shantung question and that America will continue her aid toward maintaining the integrity of Chinese sovereignty. We extend our heartfelt thanks.

(Signed)  
SHANTUNG PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY.

#### NARRATIVE OF A DELEGATE

All through July and August the Chinese attacks on the Shantung provisions and the official deprecations of the Japanese succeeded one another in rapid succession, linked with arguments pro and contra. At the beginning of September a number of the Chinese peace delegates arrived in Shanghai. One of these, Kung Hsiang-ko, a Shantung delegate who traces his ancestry in a direct line through seventy-four generations from Confucius, returned after a short stay in Shanghai to his

ancestral home at Kufow, in the Shantung Peninsula, to prepare for the Provincial Assembly the formal report of China's activities in the Peace Conference. Kufow, famed throughout China as the place where the tomb of Confucius stands, felt more keenly than any other city the grief which the Shantung award to Japan brought to the Chinese Nation; for it is in a sense the very heart of the nation. After recounting the efforts of Dr. Wellington Koo and Dr. C. T. Wang to combat the pro-Japanese campaign which had hampered the work of the delegates at every turn, Kung Hsiang-ko stated his belief that one of the important reasons why China was defeated was because the Fiume question had received precedence at the conference. In this regard Mr. Kung said:

President Wilson was fully determined to support the Chinese cause. If the Shantung question had been brought up first it would, perhaps, have been disposed of to the satisfaction of the Chinese.

#### THE TREATY OF TOKIO

But the blow under which the Chinese delegates were crushed, said Mr. Kung, was the disclosure of the so-called "Tokio-Treaty," of which they had never heard until the Japanese produced it at the conference. This was a document of agreement concluded with Japan by the former Chinese Minister to Tokio, Chiang Chung-hsiang, one of the officials against whom the wrath of the students was turned in June when the Minister was deposed. Chiang Chung-hsiang, the Shantung delegate explained, acted with the power of a plenipotentiary in concluding this secret treaty, by the terms of which the German holdings in Shantung and, in particular, the railway concessions, were given to Japan. When Dr. Koo and Dr. Wang, protesting against the twenty-one demands, contended that they had been signed under threat of war, the Japanese produced the Treaty of Tokio, of the existence of which the Chinese envoys were ignorant. Mr. Kung commented further as follows:

When this treaty was produced it closed the mouths of all of China's dele-

gates and none of them knew exactly what to do.

When the Chinese delegates learned that the decision on Shantung had been reached all the smaller nations protested and the Chinese took vigorous action. At a conference a delegate asked who had made the decision. Speaking for the Big Five, M. Clemenceau answered: "We did it." When he was asked how the Big Five could decide a question like that he replied, saying: "We have suffered more than others."

We trusted Mr. Wilson entirely too much. We sent a note to him asking him how he could reconcile assurances he had given to China before she entered the war with the decision. He sent a representative to us expressing his sorrow and suggested that he would help us when the League of Nations was formed.

When the conference was concluded the Chinese divided on the question whether to sign the treaty with Germany. It was the students and Chinese statesmen in Paris who swayed those who were disposed to sign.

On the morning of the day set for the signing of the treaty, after China had been refused the right of signing with reservations, crowds of students patrolled in front of the hotel of Lu Chen-hsiang, our chief delegate, who had been suffering from ill-health and was confined to his bed. The question of signing had not been decided when the delegates gathered in his room. He was asked for the last time if he would consent to sign, and he replied with tears streaming from his eyes:

"I signed the twenty-one demands. Can I, must I, also sign this?"

It was the only answer he gave and the delegates understood. That is why, when the conference was called to order, the seats of the Chinese were vacant.

#### MARTIAL LAW IN KOREA

In Korea the condition of unrest continued. Since the attempt made on Sept. 2 to assassinate Baron Saito, the new Japanese Governor General, in Seoul, every part of that city was occupied by Japanese troops, and the place was virtually in a state of siege. The bomb-thrower was still at large, although a number of persons suspected of being implicated in the plot were under arrest. Baron Saito, on the day following the attack, which injured twenty-nine persons, summoned the Councilors and, apparently unperturbed, explained the keynote of his policy as Governor General along the lines of abolishment of discrimination and non-interference with

freedom of speech or publication so far as consistent with public safety. Answering visitors who congratulated him on his escape, he replied that he was ready to sacrifice his life, if necessary, in the cause for which he came to Korea.

#### PEACE WITH GERMANY

Parliament having agreed that the state of war between China and Germany should be ended, a Presidential mandate to that effect was issued on Sept. 15. The document contained the following statement:

Although, owing to our disapproval of the three articles concerning Shantung, we have refused to sign the treaty with Germany, yet we recognize all the other articles as our allies do. Now that the war is ended, we, as one of the allied nations, shall consequently regard ourselves as in the same position as our allies.

But though finally at peace with Germany, China was not at peace within her own boundaries, and the clashing factions of the north and south continued the civil war which has so long disorganized the country. The Chinese peace delegation at Paris had been advised on Aug. 28 that Wong-i-Tong, representing the Northern Government, had begun negotiations with Tang Shao-yi of the Southern Government looking to reconciliation. On Sept. 29, however, further advices reported that southern representatives had refused to treat with Wong-i-Tong; hostilities between the two Governments were resumed by Oct. 7, with the departure of numerous troops from Amoy for action against the southern forces stationed at Changchow.

Serious disorders meantime continued through the metropolitan province as the result of acts of brigandage committed by roving bands of outlaws, whose suppression could not be undertaken because the military Governor did not possess the necessary funds to move the troops against them. The attitude of the troops themselves was a matter of very serious concern. A large number of these were superfluous, but regular disbandment involved the payment of arrears, amounting to \$50,000,000, which the depleted Chinese Treasury, reduced to such disastrous expedients as the dis-

count of Treasury bills at a loss of 46 per cent. on the transaction, found it impossible to provide. Fears of a mutiny of these unpaid troops were entertained.

The National Government, nevertheless, sought to reduce its outlay for military purposes. Keen interest was aroused in Peking on Oct. 30 by the action of Parliament in making a reduction of the military budget from \$250,000,000 to \$160,000,000. As it was uncertain whether the Tuchuns would comply, General Ni Ssu-chung, Tuchun of Anhui, who advocated the reduction, began an exchange of telegrams with other Tuchuns recommending an immediate 30 per cent. reduction.

#### OUTER MONGOLIA'S PETITION

An event of considerable importance was the receipt of a petition signed by the chieftans of the "Mongolian Banners" and forwarded by the Chinese Ambassador at Urga, capital of Outer Mongolia, asking China to take this province back under her protection. Outer Mongolia had declared itself autonomous shortly after the outbreak of the Chinese revolution. On Nov. 3, 1912, by a protocol signed at Urga, the province was placed under the protection of Russia, and Chinese colonization and the presence of Chinese troops were forbidden. Later an agreement was reached between Russia and China whereby Russia recognized Inner Mongolia as part of Chinese territory under Chinese suzerainty, and China recognized the autonomy of Outer Mongolia.

The petition set forth that the original declaration of autonomy had been due to intriguers, that the Russians had treated the autonomous province with a high hand, and that the province regretted the loss of favorable treatment by the Chinese Government which the Princes and chieftans of Inner Mongolia still received. It also expressed a desire to cancel the declaration of autonomy, and return to the protection of the mother country. The petitioners further asked that China should redeem the 2,000,000 ruble loan which the Urga Government had contracted with Russia in October, 1913, and requested that the salaries or

allowances of the Princes and chieftans be paid by the Central Government.

The Peking Government sent a telegraphic message to the Ambassador at Urga accepting the offer and promising to pay the salaries and allowances; \$800,000 was voted for this purpose.

On Nov. 2 Captain Frederick F. Moore of the Intelligence Department of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, declared that the attempt of Outer Mongolia to cancel her autonomy and to return under the protection of China was due to the rapidly increasing control of the Japanese in Mongolia and Manchuria through acquirement of mines, public utilities, and concessions of all kinds, supported by a considerable strengthening of Japanese armed forces in Siberia and Northern China.

Another recalcitrant province, Sze-chuan, over whose boundary with Thibet a dispute had arisen, and which withdrew from the control of the Chinese Government in 1917, when it broke the three-year armistice following the Conference of Simla by an attack upon the Thibetans, was stated on Sept. 18 to be again seeking the advice of Peking in regard to the campaign it was waging, chiefly as the result of having been chastened by defeat. The Chinese Government on its part had proposed the resumption of the negotiations which had been broken off in India in 1914.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. REINSCH

On Sept. 14 Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, after handing in his resignation as United States Minister to China because of his inability to approve the Shantung settlement, left Peking on Sept. 18. American, British, and Chinese guards of honor were drawn up about the station, while the members of the Diplomatic Corps and of the Chinese Cabinet, as well as a number of students just returned from America, bade him farewell. On his arrival at San Francisco on Oct. 9 the former Ambassador made the following public comment on the situation in China:

There is a strong undercurrent of feeling in Japan that the best interests of the country will be served by making a liberal settlement of the Shantung question.

Few persons have any conception of the thoroughness of the Chinese boycott. So efficiently is it maintained, there is no question that Japanese interests are losing vastly. As an instance, one of the Japanese concerns with a capital of 150,000,000 yen constructed palatial steamships to carry freight and passengers up and down the Chinese rivers. The only competition consisted of old and undesirable British vessels. The latter are carrying all the Chinese passengers and all the native freight, while the Japanese line is plying nearly empty and is losing a million yen each month.

Americans in China are not anti-Japanese because they must oppose whatever Japan may attempt, but in the matter of Shantung they are looking at the question in the full knowledge they have of the situation and an appreciation of the fact that the pledge to restore to China the sovereignty of the province means only the return of the shell, and in this they sympathize with the Chinese, just as the other foreigners in China.

They appreciate, too, the fact that Japan holds a wonderful trump card if she will only play it, which is the return to China of those things wrung from her by Germany, retaining only her privilege of entering Shantung on equal terms with the rest of the world.

If Japan could only see it, that would be her reply to all the charges that have been brought against her, a reply that would at once convert sentiment in China from a probable lasting hatred into a feeling of grateful friendship and something that would be appreciated by the Americans in China equally with the Japanese. It would also be something that would disarm every critic of Japan in America and elsewhere throughout the world and pay Japan materially much more than she can possibly gain by pushing the advantage the treaty gives her in Shantung.

#### JAPANESE ATTITUDE ON PEACE

The feeling of Japan on the issues involved at the Peace Conference was one of satisfaction over the Shantung award, combined with chagrin over the failure of the proposal to incorporate a clause of racial equality in the peace treaty with Germany. On Sept. 8 Marquis Saionji, head of the Japanese Peace Delegation at Paris, in response to an address of welcome made on behalf of the City of Tokio at a banquet given in celebration of his return, reviewed the situation in the following terms:

Japan clearly understands her responsibility in aiding and promoting the useful-

ness of the League of Nations—that great international organization, which, if whole-heartedly and effectively administered, is destined to insure the world against the menace of war.

The Marquis pointed out that Japan had gained a reputation as a militarist and aggressive nation, which was due partly to sinister propaganda by interested parties, and partly because she had prosecuted two successful wars since she opened her doors to foreign intercourse. He added:

That Japan should be made the object of distrust and misunderstanding is immensely injurious to Japan, and not less unfortunate to the foreign nations whose policy in the Far East is influenced by this erroneous estimate. It is of paramount importance that Japan should correct this mistaken judgment abroad, while the people of Japan should exercise the utmost care in all their domestic and international undertakings to demonstrate the real national ideals of Japan, which are entirely opposed to militarism or aggression.

Marquis Saionji outlined the rapid demand which had arisen in Japan for armaments in consequence of the peculiar changes of the last half century. He pointed out, however, that military excellence was not the only thing to be desired, but now that the empire was consolidated and Japan was co-operating in a world movement to secure a durable peace, all the people should exert themselves to develop along the paths of science, art, literature, and industry. He ended as follows:

I feel confident that the time is coming when those who misrepresent and misunderstand us today will appreciate our sincerity in laboring toward international peace and credit us with success in the sphere of pacific undertakings. Then, alone, will Japan's position be made lastingly secure and unassailable.

#### STATEMENT BY DR. IYENAGA

Another semi-official utterance on the question was contained in an address delivered Oct. 4 before the Twentieth Century Club of Boston by Dr. T. Iyenaga, the head of the Japanese Bureau of Information. Dr. Iyenaga deplored what he termed "the campaign of misrepresentation, abuse and slander" directed against Japan since July, 1919, which, he declared, had produced "a gross mis-

understanding among the American people regarding the Shantung question." His interpretation of the whole situation from the Japanese viewpoint was in part as follows:

When we study the Shantung settlement by the light of the Portsmouth Treaty we at once observe a very marked difference between the provisions of the two agreements. The difference, however, is all to the advantage of China. By the Shantung adjustment—that is to say, in observance of the China-Japan agreements of 1915 and 1918, and the assurances given by Japan's peace envoys to President Wilson and Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau, reinforced by the repeated declarations of the Japanese Government—the Kiao-Chau leasehold is to be given up, the Tsing-tao-Tsinanfu Railroad brought under joint Sino-Japanese management, the road policed by Chinese police, the military occupation wiped out by the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops, and the exercise of full sovereignty over Shantung, which was infringed upon by Germany, restored to China. In this way, Shantung will come to attain the same status as that in other provinces of China.

What Japan obtains are simply the economic rights and concessions in Shantung similar to those enjoyed by other powers in other parts of China, and the establishment of such a settlement at Tsing-tao as the foreign settlements that exist at Shanghai, Tien-tsin, and Hankow. The Shantung settlement, therefore, far from impairing the territorial integrity or independence of China, rather serves to restore her sovereignty, which Germany had, in fact, overridden at Kiao-Chau by the treaty of 1898.

Such being the actual outcome, I am unable to understand what ground there is for the abuse that has been heaped upon the Japanese Nation on account of the Shantung disposition of the treaty. To restore the exercise of full sovereignty over Shantung to its owner—is this what you call "Japan's rape of China"? To develop, in conjunction with China, the resources of her potentially rich province, which, left alone to the Chinese, would long remain a hidden treasure—is this what you call an act of "burglary"? To contribute to the education, sanitation, and physical well-being of the inhabitants of Shantung, as Japan will doubtless strive to do along the railroad in whose management she has a share—is this what you call "the enslaving of 36,000,000 in Shantung"? Were these acts to be properly styled "rape," "burglary," and "enslavement," we would ask for the immediate and thorough re-

vision of Anglo-American dictionaries to prevent our disastrous blunders in understanding the English language. • • •

### A BITTER EXPERIENCE

Every experience which Japan has gained is a priceless lesson to her. In 1895 she tasted the bitter cup of being deprived of the best fruits of victory in the costly war with China through the machinations of certain European powers, and not long after of witnessing those fruits slip from China's grasp and fall into European hands.

Is it difficult, then, to understand that, in order to forestall a repetition of this experience at the Peace Conference, which was to settle the world war, Japan felt it necessary to assure herself of the support of her claims by her allies at the peace table? This will explain the agreements entered into in 1917 between Japan on the one hand and Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia on the other, as well as the China-Japan agreements of 1915 and 1918.

These agreements are the basis of Articles 156, 157, and 158 of the Versailles Treaty. The terms of the latter treaty are substantially the same as those specified in the former. So long, therefore, as these treaties stand, so long will the Shantung clause of the Versailles Treaty stand. Consequently, Chinese advocates are consistent, at least, when, in trying to annul the Shantung decision, they advocate the abrogation of the China-Japan Treaty of 1915. This, however, is out of the question. Great Britain, France, and Italy stand upon their honor. Nor will Japan ever consent to be a party to the abrogation of the Treaty of 1915. Moreover, in adopting such a grave course, China must be prepared to turn into "scraps of paper" many of the treaties she has concluded with other powers.

### AWAITS EUROPE'S EXAMPLE

I dare say that Japan will follow the suit of other powers, if they decide to give up the leaseholds and settlements they maintain in China: if they return to her the rights and concessions they have secured therein, and withdraw their troops now quartered at Peking, Tientsin, and other places, and, further, if China sufficiently demonstrates her ability to defend herself and maintain her integrity by her own arms, instead of shifting the burden to Japan to stand in the Far East as a bulwark against outside aggression. Then Japan is safe, China free, and she will have attained all that she is clamoring for today.

Among the Great Five, the United States is the only disinterested power, free from the web which history has woven. This, if I am not mistaken, is the reason why

China, backed by scores of foreign advisers, is moving heaven and earth to persuade America to come to her own views, and is putting to a test the talent of intrigue and persuasion, which she has inherited through centuries, against hard realities. I am, however, inclined to think that the American people, who, however idealistic, hold as their first principle the doctrine of independence and "self-help," will first see, before they commit themselves and take upon themselves the burden of China, what she has done to help herself. The history of the past few decades is a sad commentary upon China's lack of "self-help." In fact, the genius of intrigue and wrangling, with which the Chinese are so strikingly endowed, is rending the country into factions and leading it to disintegration and disaster.

Such being the situation, is it not most urgent for our neighbors across the Yellow Sea to compose their factional quarrels, put their house in order, and exert themselves to uplift the country, so that their goal of the abolition of foreign settlements and of the system of extra-territoriality and the recovery of tariff autonomy may successfully be attained? The savior of China is found in her own self, and, as President Wilson said, in the League of Nations.

### JAPANESE DISSATISFIED

It was stated that the Japanese Privy Council on Oct. 30 had suggested the impeachment of the Ministry of Premier Hara and the Versailles Peace Delegation for the "unsatisfactory" peace terms. At a meeting of the council on Oct. 27 Viscount Kiyoura, head of the special committee of the council which examined the German Peace Treaty, had declared that Japan made a mistake in raising the racial issue at the Peace Conference, and had criticised the Government for the failures he asserted had been scored by Japan at the conference.

In respect to the racial issue, Viscount Kiyoura stated that, though the Government had negotiated on this question beforehand with the American delegation, it had not consulted the representatives of Great Britain, Japan's ally, and its proposal of the racial issue had been both untimely and inadvisable, while the proposal's enforced withdrawal had produced an awkward situation, in which the distinction between the Japanese and the negro race had been ignored. He also regretted that the Japanese delegation had failed to insist on Japanese

occupation of the South Sea Islands. The League of Nations had recognized the American Monroe Doctrine, he pointed out, and it was a matter of regret that the delegates had made no effort to secure recognition of Japan's special position in the Far East. He also declared that the Japanese delegation should have protested against the proposal to try the German Emperor.

After reviewing the entire navy in an imposing display, the Emperor on Oct. 28

issued a message to the fleet congratulating it upon its showing in strict discipline, martial spirit, and marked improvement in tactical ability.

Kijuro Shidehara, the new Japanese Ambassador to the United States, made his first visit to Secretary Lansing at the State Department in Washington on Nov. 3, pending the presentation of his credentials to President Wilson personally as soon as the President should be able to receive him.

## Tacna and Arica The Powder Kegs of South America

By WILLIS KNAPP JONES

**T**ACNA and Arica, the Alsace-Lorraine of America!" "Chile, the South American Germany!" These are catch phrases bandied about through Peru and Bolivia from the high altitudes of La Paz and Cochabamba to the lowlands of Lima and Mollendo. During a six weeks' trip through these countries I have heard the expressions from Indian and Senator, on seacoast and altiplano. Discussions of the topic fill the pages of the daily papers, once dedicated to European war news, and books on all phases of it are legion.

To get to the first beginnings of the trouble now involving Chile, Bolivia, and Peru, it is necessary to go back to the period of Spanish settlement when the country was divided between various colonies and ruled by various officials, all under the Viceroy in Peru. The exact boundaries were never carefully laid out, for a few leagues more or less meant nothing to the colony. The Spaniards did not attempt to delineate boundaries, except for their own farms. When the nineteenth century began and the yoke of Spain was thrown off, the new nations had too much to do to regulate such unimportant problems. No treaties were made over the geographical lines of any of the nations.

Bolivia and Chile were separated by a barren region, the desert of Atacama,

where no one lived and where nothing grew. Consequently, neither Chile nor Bolivia cared much about it, although the governing officials and the almost negligible customs revenue were Bolivian. Thus there was peace until 1841.

### GUANO AND NITRATE DISCOVERED

In that year it was found that the sea-coast of Atacama and the islands in the ocean were rich in guano, especially at a place called Punta Angamos, north of Antofagasta. A hasty survey put the value of this fertilizer at 60,000,000 pesos, (\$20,000,000.) Here was something worth thinking about. On Oct. 31, 1842, the Chilean Congress passed a bill claiming this territory. Chile pressed her claims on the ground that Alto Peru, out of which Bolivia had been cut after the War of Independence, never came as far south as the desert. Chile's northern boundary, she declared, was at parallel 23, and produced documents to show that the Captain General of Chile in colonial days ruled all the Province of Antofagasta. Bolivia replied that her own country extended to parallel 25. While they were discussing, the further discovery of vast salitre, or nitrate, beds in Atacama and Antofagasta made the matter of boundary still more keenly argued. Without waiting for the question to be settled, Chilean financiers and labor went

to the country, and, aided by British capital, began the development of the territory.

The President of Bolivia, Melgarejo, was a great admirer of Chile and things Chilean. He held a position in the Chilean Army and drew an officer's salary. As one Bolivian writer says of him,



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF TACNA AND ARICA IN RELATION TO CHILE, PERU, AND BOLIVIA

"The atmosphere of honors and adulations in which the Government of Chile and its agents enveloped the dictator, Melgarejo, put him in the attitude of conceding whatever was demanded of him by that Government and its citizens. Things came to such a pass that he handed over to a group of these Chileans the concession of five square leagues of land and the sole privilege for fifteen years of exploiting and exploring the nitrate of Atacama."

All the countries on the west coast suddenly found themselves, or thought themselves, confronted with a war against a Spain determined to win back her lost colonies. A defensive alliance was formed in 1866 while the Spanish fleet

was bombarding Valparaiso, Chile, and Callao, Peru. But the pending conflict was stopped by the intervention of the United States. Chile seized the opportunity to come to an agreement with Melgarejo and a compromise was effected, making the boundary the 24th parallel. However, all the wealth between the 23d and 25th parallels, the customs on outgoing nitrate and other minerals, were to be divided between the two countries.

#### BOLIVIAN-PERUVIAN ALLIANCE

Yet, in spite of the apparent friendly spirit, Bolivia was not entirely at ease. She possessed neither army nor navy. Chile had a fleet of five warships and four transports, and was building two more of each. Bolivia found Peru likewise afraid of the war preparations of Chile, and in 1873 the two nations formed a defensive alliance.

Yet the relation between Peru and Bolivia was far from smooth, and at least once, when a Peruvian fleeing from political trouble was sheltered in Bolivia, there was much open talk of war. However, they managed to calm matters, and at Peru's suggestion tried to strengthen their alliance by inviting Argentina to join them. As later events proved, they made a diplomatic blunder.

In 1874 Chile complained that Bolivia was not living up to her agreement, and the representatives talked it over, deciding on Aug. 6, 1874, that the dividing line extended back to the Cordilleras. Chile promised to recognize Bolivia's sovereignty in Antofagasta in return for the confirmation of Chilean nitrate concessions in that province. Also it was settled that no increase in export taxes was to be levied by Bolivia. Once more peace reigned.

Peru took this occasion to show her hand. She declared all nitrate beds to be a State monopoly. The Chilean companies found themselves compelled to shut down and turn over their nitrate establishments, upon which they had spent time and money. All they received in return were paper notes, which were valueless. They appealed to Chile, but nothing was done, and they had to leave the country.

Meanwhile the President changed in

Bolivia, and in 1876 Hilarion Daza came into power. His Peruvian friends pointed out how the country was losing money in the nitrate district, and consequently in 1878 the President imposed a heavy tax on all exported fertilizer. At first it was to have been a 10 per cent. tax, but later it was reduced to 10 centavos a quintal, (220 pounds.) The nitrate men objected, called attention to the treaty of 1874, and refused to pay, asserting that it would spoil their business. Chile later imposed a tax of 1.50 pesos a quintal, and the industry flourished.

When the Bolivian authorities threatened to confiscate the nitrate plants where the tax was not paid, the Chileans called upon their country to keep them from being driven out of Bolivia as they had been out of Peru. A small naval force was sent to Antofagasta. Then Peru tried to use its good offices to avert trouble, but Argentina revealed the proposed league against Chile, and the latter, disgusted with such double dealing, declared war on Peru and Bolivia on April 5, 1879.

Valdes Vergara in his history of Chile points out how sure the allies were of victory. Peru thought her fleet far stronger than Chile's. Bolivia was confident in her army. Since 1839 Chile had lived in peace, except for two brief revolutions in 1851 and 1859, while the allies, with their continual wars, were well in practice. The naval battle of Iquique finished the Peruvian fleet, while the Chilean *roto* soldier, primed with *chicha*, his national drink, was a demon, and it was not long before even the capital of Peru was in his hands.

#### TACNA AND ARICA

Then came the treaty of Ancon with Peru, signed March 28, 1884, and with Bolivia peace was made a week later. By the terms of the treaties Chile was given the Peruvian nitrate Province of Tarapacá. Two provinces further north, Taena and Arica, were temporarily to go to Chile. At the end of ten years a vote was to be taken, the people having the power to decide whether they would belong to Chile or Peru. The country which gained the territory was to pay to the other the sum of 10,000,000 pesos,

(about \$2,000,000.) The two provinces are really of little value, although Arica, on the seacoast, is the most beautiful port between Panama and Valparaiso, and Tacna, two hours from it by rail, is an attractive city. But the greater part of the land is desolate. Its chief value to Chile is as a buffer between Peru and the nitrate beds.

The plebiscite was to have been held in 1894, but it never took place. The terms of the treaty are largely to blame, because the manner of voting was not decided then. Peru has always insisted that only those vote who have lived for a long time in the territories. In 1910 Chile proposed that all who had resided there for six months and who could read and write be given a ballot, but this plan would permit the Chilean garrisons to vote, and Peru refused. And while they are settling upon a way Chile keeps the territory.

In the terms of peace with Bolivia, Chile received Atacama and Antofagasta, thus cutting off Bolivia from the sea. The delegates at the conference suggested that Bolivia would be given an opportunity at some future time to acquire a port, and that in the meantime Chilean ports were open to them. In the year when the plebiscite should have been held, Chile made another treaty with Bolivia, promising, in return for assurances of perpetual control of Atacama and Antofagasta, that should Chile gain Tacna and Arica, she would turn them over to Bolivia. And if she lost them, she would give Bolivia the little port of Vitor and 5,000,000 pesos.

#### CHILE'S MILITARISTIC CLAIMS

Five years passed. In 1900, after Chile had settled her boundary dispute with Argentina, the Chilean Minister in Bolivia, Abraham König, handed a strange document to the Bolivian Chancellor. Among other things, it said that public opinion had changed in the last five years, and therefore Bolivia need not count on getting Tacna and Arica, even if the plebiscite were favorable to Chile. It denied that Bolivia was to have a port in return for the seacoast which she had lost, and added, "Chile has occupied the

shore and has become guardian of it by the same title as that by which Germany annexed to her empire Alsace and Lorraine. Our rights arise from our victory, the supreme law of nations." Thus Bolivia lost nearly 60,000 square miles of territory occupied by 32,000 people. From one of the nitrate districts alone, Toco, Chile gets an annual income of 5,000,000 pesos. Yet Bolivia is getting a return, too. In 1904 a new treaty was signed giving Bolivia 4,000,000 pesos indemnity and promising a railroad from Arica to La Paz, recently finished at a cost of \$25,000,000, which in twenty-five years will become Bolivian property. Bolivia at that time ceded all her claims to the coast.

Peru, however, is not yet satisfied with arrangements. Tacna and Arica occupy a place in Peruvian politics similar to that formerly held by the tariff or free silver issue in the United States. The papers there are full of talk now because a Presidential election comes this year, and the candidates are incorporating the "Lost Provinces" in their platforms. Then there is a hope, too, that the League of Nations will do something. From being newspaper and political talk, it has now gone further. Students in Callao and Lima made demonstrations against Chile. In Paita, Peru, the Chilean Consul was supposed to have been insulted and driven from the country. Exaggerated reports of the doings came to Chile and the incensed people started the present trouble in the country.

#### DANGERS OF THE SITUATION

The internal conditions of Chile are not enviable. The United States Embassy in the last few months has more than once been on the point of sending all Americans home. This is due partly to injudicious newspaper reports and partly to the underlying social unrest. The Bolshevik germ has reached South America, and the Chilean authorities fear an outbreak. Punta Arenas, in the far south, has been in open revolt, while the many demonstrations by striking workmen in all the cities give at least a hint of danger; so the Government is quite willing that the Peruvian issue should distract popular attention.

Little is known in the south of Chile of conditions in the north, for news is rigidly suppressed; but I had occasion to visit Iquique, the scene of the greatest anti-Peru disorder. In Santiago the report was given out that the Peruvians in Iquique left the city of their own ac-



MAP INDICATING LOCATION OF DISPUTED PROVINCES IN RELATION TO THE REST OF SOUTH AMERICA

cord, and the statement was backed by affidavits of the steamboat Captains who carried them to Peru. In Iquique the fleteros who row passengers from the ships to the shore, for there are no docks, say that there is a fine of a hundred pesos for any one who carries a Peruvian ashore, and we had to assure them of our nationality before we could land. One fltero told me that many Peruvians were taken out of their beds and forcibly put on board ships for Peru, and one American gentleman upon whose word I can rely, though it is obvious his name cannot be given, said he watched six mounted police guard his dwelling while a crowd looted the house of a Peruvian six doors away, completely wrecking it.

In the nitrate district also there is this same distrust of Peruvians. All have been sent away, and when I visited the

American copper mine at Chuquicamata the representatives of the Patriotic League questioned me very closely because they fancied I looked like a Peruvian.

This movement, it should be noted, is against Peru, not Bolivia. The newspapers recently published a report that the Chileans at the Huanchaca mine in Bolivia had been driven out, but while there I found that the director of the mine, a Chilean, had put his friends in power, and that it was not nationality but inefficiency which made the workmen rise against them. Their places have now been filled with capable Chilean and Peruvian engineers working together. In my six weeks in Bolivia I carried a card identifying me with a Chilean newspaper, and it got me a number of favors from the authorities, and several of them remarked that they were glad to be able to do something for a person from Chile.

Of course, everything is not quiet in Bolivia. The papers are full of editorials about a port, but they do not advocate war. It is Peru that is doing the

war talking, and Chile encourages her, for it takes the minds of the Chileans from internal troubles.

The educated people of both Peru and Bolivia see that war would not help them. Chile is infinitely superior to both nations together. Her army is well trained. She possesses fifty airplanes, the gift of Great Britain. Her warships are more up to date and better manned, and her submarines, three times as numerous as those of Peru, have only recently made the ocean trip from the United States to Chile, while the Peruvian underwater craft have never been outside Callao Harbor. War, therefore, would not obtain Tacna and Arica for Peru, nor get Bolivia a port. Many of the more thoughtful in both countries are hoping that a better way may be hit upon by the League of Nations.

[Official advices received at Washington on Nov. 4, 1919, stated that Chile had given Bolivia an outlet to the Pacific Ocean by ceding a strip of land north of the Province of Arica; the Bolivian Legation, however, discredited the report. Minister Calderon stated that such reports had been current in years past, but that nothing had come of them.]

## The Negro in the War

### How French and American Black Troops Performed Deeds of Valor on Many Battlefields

**A**MONG the factors which aided the allied and associated nations, including the United States of America, to fight their way to victory in the great war were the efficient services rendered by the dark-skinned Hindus from Britain's furthest dominions and the negro colonials of France—her Algerians, her Senegalese, and her Moroccans—whose fearlessness was demonstrated repeatedly on the battlefield—"black devils," the German soldiers called them, when, fighting like demons, they had forced the Kaiser's proudest shock troops to retreat before them. And America sent 80,000 negro citizens to do their part for the world's liberty. What they did was made manifest by ci-

tation after citation, the conferring by the French Government of many War Crosses, and the granting of many United States medals for distinguished bravery.

France for a long time struggled without the help of her black colonists, and the thought of the valuable man-service that was being wasted in her African and other colonial possessions, while French soldiers by millions were falling on red battlefields, was slow in coming to her. And yet, had she listened to the voice of Gallifet, Minister of War at the time of the Fashoda episode, and of Mangin, then a simple Captain, and of Gouraud, victor of Samory, she would, at the time the European war broke out,

have been able to bring a large black army into the field against Germany.

In 1908 Mangin, then a Lieutenant Colonel and Chief of Staff of Western Africa, foreseeing the European conflagration which burst forth six years later, took up the idea again, but his proposals failed of acceptance; in 1910, however, a commission, headed by Mangin and composed of four colonial officials, was sent to Western Africa to study the possibilities. It stayed there nine months. On its return it reported that an annual contingent of 40,000 black troops could be depended on, and recommended the creation of seven divisions within four years. But when the war broke out France possessed only the two Algerian divisions originally planned.

#### TRAGIC FATE OF ALGERIANS

The history of these two divisions of black soldiers is tragic. The men went into a hell of artillery fire untested, and they proved their worth. The 2d Division, which reached the front first, came into contact with the enemy at Rheims at the end of September, 1914. The thunder of big guns seemed only to amuse them, and the carnage left them unperturbed. From Rheims they were sent to Arras. In this sector on Nov. 3 the battalion attacked "on ground as completely bare as a billiard table, cut every fifty yards by canals five yards in width and two yards deep." For three days and three nights the Senegalese went forward under a frightful fire of artillery, infantry and machine guns, wading through canal after canal, wet to the skin, decimated by the terrific hail of projectiles, and ended with a surprise attack at 5 o'clock in the morning, in which when the whole front line was mowed down by the first and last German fire, those behind rushed forward and took the German trenches after a furious body to body struggle. Of the whole battalion only 3 officers, 5 non-commissioned officers and 120 men remained alive. So the second battalion of Algeria died on the field of honor.

The end of the first battalion was equally dramatic. It happened at Dixmude, a name made famous by Charles

Le Goffic in his epic of the French marines. With these fought the Senegalese. On Nov. 10 they were defending, with the Belgian troops on the left and the cemetery of Dixmude on the right, the allied trenches, which were furiously attacked. The roaring field-gray tide poured suddenly upon them from the flanks. Two solutions faced them—to surrender or to die at their posts. They chose the latter.

An extraordinary scene began. The madness of battle had seized the black soldiers, the intoxication of self-immolation. The mysterious call of their African blood was heard and hearkened to, and an elemental power, born of the barbaric life of the wilderness, lifted them above themselves. They roared forth to the amazed enemy their fury, hatred, and contempt. A hundred African dialects fused into a savage and unintelligible harmony. A vast chant of war and death, it rose and grew, became formidable, terrible, dominating all the battle, a funeral paean of the black warriors, *morituri*. And when the gray tide struck them they rushed forward, striking, killing, dying. The German troops could not finish with them. The German commanders brought up machine guns and from a distance of fifty yards mowed them down. Under the volleys the fierce hymn of war died away, and silence came. But history echoes with it still.

#### TROOPS FROM MOROCCO

Other territorial troops were raised in Morocco by General Lyautey. Some of them shared the fate of the Senegalese already described. "Imperfectly trained, but formidable fighters," went the record. Fully awakened now to the possibilities of her colonial possessions, France mobilized all available forces in Western Africa, in Senegal, Mauritania, in the Lower Sudan and sent a regiment into the furnace of battle at Champagne. The records tell of a cry used by one Captain Poupart to encourage white soldiers, who were wavering. "Come, men, another effort! See how the blacks are holding!" On Oct. 24, transported in automobile trucks to Arras, they advanced on the enemy from one parallel to another,

then across open country. The red flare of a burning mill illuminated the horizon. Then from the German trenches came suddenly a roar of fire. When it died away many black soldiers strewed the ground; but when the charge resounded the survivors rushed forward and swept like a wave to the German dugouts. The Germans were too many, however; the Senegalese too few. The blacks retreated without panic, and, reinforced by their reserves, held their lines. Six times in the night the Lavenir regiment attacked the enemy, sustaining many losses. The result was made manifest by the German papers, which admitted that the blacks were "good troops," had "fought well," and that their own soldiers "had never been attacked with such fury before." As a matter of fact, the black soldiers had saved Arras.

In the hell of Gallipoli, in 1915, the black troops of France fought also, and made the same record as elsewhere. But the man power of France was waning. A French envoy to Russia, who went to ask assistance of the Czar, complained of the wastage of human material. "The Germans," he said, "make war with machinery; we, with human breasts." Realizing that their resources were weakening, the French looked again to Africa. The creation of eight Senegalese battalions was planned for 1916, but the necessary mobilization law, for some inexplicable reason, was never passed. Special decrees, however, were subsequently issued, notably that of Oct. 9, 1916, by virtue of which a recruiting limit of 50,000 men was established. Raised hastily, this force, almost untrained, reached France in mid-Winter, and was amalgamated with other corps. At least a dozen battalions shared in the military operations of this period. The press recounted in detail the exploits of the Senegalese at Barleux, at la Maisonette, before Péronne, at the time of the offensive of General Fayolle on the Somme, and before Verdun under General Mangin.

At Douaumont, in the attack of Oct. 24, the fourth battalion of the colonial infantry regiment of Morocco (the regiment which, of the whole French Army,

won the greatest number of citations) sallied forth from its trenches, only to meet a terrific fire of musketry and machine guns. Wavering for a moment, the two companies at the head of the battalion swept on again. Split in the centre by an enemy force, the Senegalese rushed ahead on either side, attacking on the first lines. Thanks to this heroic action, the resistance of the Germans at Douaumont was broken after a furious struggle.

Again, on the western slope of the Fausse Côte, when the white soldiers, swept by machine-gun fire, took shelter, the 1st and 3d Companies of sharpshooters, all Senegalese, continued to progress, charged the machine-gun nest, and took it by storm. Inspired by the spirit of the black troops, the whole line renewed the attack, the Germans surrendered, and the German position was captured.

#### AT CHEMIN DES DAMES

The much-discussed offensive of April 16, 1917, a gigantic operation led by the British and the French from Arras to the Argonne, was disastrous not only to the French, but to the black contingents. The task of General Mangin was to take by storm the formidable position called the Chemin des Dames. Because of their achievements as shock troops, the fury of their advance under the most devastating fire, the black divisions were marked out for the first assault. At dawn they bounded forward and took the first German line within an hour, traversing a distance of from five to seven kilometers through a bewildering and formidable network of defenses. But somebody blundered. Halted at 10 o'clock in the morning before the second German line, bristling with machine guns, they were kept immovable all that day and night in trenches swept by glacial winds and clouds of snow. Their feet, unsuited to European footgear and held like vices in their army brogans, became badly frostbitten, and on the morning of the 18th, when the 2d Colonial Corps moved forward, thousands of Senegalese could not follow. Whole battalions were thus put hors de combat. Then another blunder occurred. Many of these cases

of frostbite were easily cured. Had the black soldiers been brought back a short distance to the rear, and only temporarily, they could have been used again in the great offensive. Instead of this, they were dispersed, and when at last they rejoined their corps, General Mangin no longer commanded his army and the offensive had been abandoned. By the end of May, 1917, the black battalions were distributed over all the front and relegated to obscure tasks. Some regained a regimental unity in quiet sectors, some participated in the few operations around Verdun in association with white colonial troops. The year 1917 was ill-omened for the black troops, as it was for all others.

#### THE DEFENSE OF RHEIMS

In 1918 the Senegalese, withdrawn from the front at the beginning of Winter, and reinforced by belated units, were reorganized in the camps of the south by a colonial General, who created the fine battalions whose strength the Germans experienced in the Spring of the same year. These black troops, veterans of two years' fighting, were given the task of holding the martyred City of Rheims. The Germans, planning to take the city by surprise, advanced between Rheims and Soissons, and were beating down the resistance of the French first lines when the Senegalese divisions arrived. The German soldiers, who had already tested the temper of their black adversaries, had no stomach for further fight, and withdrew. But on June 12 they began another furious assault from the east of the city, and succeeded in capturing one of its keys, the Pompelle fort. By a fierce counteroffensive the Senegalese drove them out headlong, and the Germans did not return to the attack.

These continued failures, especially in view of the fact that the German papers had divulged contemptuously the secret that Rheims was held "only by negroes and colonial troops," became serious for German prestige, and on June 18 the Crown Prince ordered his troops to take the city, at whatever cost. On a front of twenty-five kilometers from west to east, three first-line divisions assailed the cir-

cle of the French defenses, preceding the attack by a violent bombardment of asphyxiating shells. The German effort failed again. At only one point, to the north of Sillery, the enemy penetrated, but was driven out. "We were struggling," wrote a German officer, "against those negro soldiers, who hold like walls, wait for our men till they are within five yards, and throw themselves upon them."

When, by a surprise attack, the Germans finally succeeded in taking le Chemin des Dames, a capture which brought them in four days from l'Ailette to the Marne, there was panic in Château-Thierry, which was choked with fugitives and fleeing soldiers. All efforts to halt the rout proved vain. Only one General, renowned for his exploits in Africa, made an attempt to stem the tide of the advancing Germans. In the ruins of the castle he installed his Senegalese, with orders to defend it to the death. These orders were obeyed. Vainly the German wave beat against the old walls of the castle, while the evacuation of the town proceeded. When finally the object of the Allies was gained, the handful of Senegalese soldiers came forth, bearing their dead and wounded, under the eyes of the Germans, who were stupefied by the small number of their tenacious adversaries.

So the French blacks fought in the great European war, the first in which they had ever been allowed to share. Isolated cases of the panic of raw black troops, brought for the first time under the fire of big guns, cannot impair the record made by the black troops as a whole. They, too, were the artisans of the victory of France.

#### THE COLORED AMERICANS

The negro soldiers of the United States arrived late on the field of battle, but in more than sufficient time to make Germany feel the strength of their arm. In all 83,600 negroes were drafted for service in the National Army sent overseas. More than 626 of the 1,250 colored men who completed their course of training were commissioned as officers in the United States Army; nearly 100 negro physicians and surgeons received com-

missions as officers in the Medical Reserve Corps, and a full fighting force of 30,000 men constituted the 92d Division detailed for duty in France under General Pershing. The total number of negro combat troops was 42,000.

Like the Senegalese forces of the French Army, the black American troops held their own on European battlefields and stood the test of courage, endurance and aggressiveness in moments of the greatest stress. They fought valiantly at Château-Thierry, Soissons, on the Vesle, in Champagne, in the Argonne, and in the final attacks in the Metz region. The entire first battalion of the 367th Infantry, the "Buffaloes," as it was called, was awarded the Croix de Guerre for heroism in the drive on Metz. The soldiers of this battalion received their baptism of fire in this attack; at the start they won honors which veterans of many conflicts had failed to capture. In other engagements three black regiments as units were awarded the Croix de Guerre, which bestows on each man the right to wear the coveted badge. When the fighting stopped, it was the negro troops who were nearest to the Rhine. Whether performing individual exploits, fighting in a single regiment, or doing battle in a division made up entirely of men of his organization the negro soldier rose to every test.

In the Argonne the 368th Infantry, colored, sent a volunteer runner with a message to the left flank of an American firing line. The way led across an open field swept by heavy enemy machine-gun fire. Before he had gone far, a shell cut him down. As he fell he shouted back to his comrades that some one should come and get the message. Another member of the regiment, Lieutenant Campbell, dashed across the shell-swept space, picked up the wounded private, and, amid a hail of German bullets, carried his man back to the American lines, winning by this achievement the Distinguished Service Cross and the promotion to a Captaincy. Under the same Lieutenant Campbell a few black soldiers, armed only with their rifles, trench knives, and hand grenades, moving over a road in the Château-Thierry sector,

by a clever ruse and great bravery, captured a concealed machine gun that had been doing deadly work, killed four of the Germans operating it, and made prisoners of the other three.

#### DEEDS OF 372D REGIMENT

Four of the negro regiments first sent over, the 369th, 370th, 371st, and 372d, afterward organized into the Provisional 93d Division, were brigaded separately with French troops. The fighting record of the 372d may be taken as typical. The men had arrived in France on April 14, and had gone into training with the French on April 28. On June 6 the 372d was sent to the trenches just west of Verdun, and occupied the famous battle-swept Hill 304 and sections at Four de Paris and Vauquois. On Hill 304 thousands of French and German soldiers had fallen as the battleline swung back and forth. This hill was given to the negroes to hold, and they held it.

In the Champagne sector, with Montoir as the objective, the negroes cheered and sang when the announcement that they were going into battle was made. From June 6 to Sept. 10, in the bloody Argonne Forest, the 372d bore the brunt of the terrific battle for weeks. They took an active part in the Argonne offensive, which lasted from Sept. 26 to Oct. 7. In the ordeal of this gigantic drive, the negro troops proved their fighting qualities in deadly striking power and stubborn resistance in moments of crisis, and made for themselves such a record that they won as a unit the coveted Croix de Guerre. The casualty list showed 500 men killed, wounded, and gassed.

Another regiment's record, that of the 369th, commanded by Colonel William Hayward, ex-Public Service Commissioner, is equally striking. The 369th was in the Champagne offensive as a part of the Fourth Army, commanded by General Gouraud, a few miles west of the Argonne Forest. The accomplishment of this regiment was described by Colonel Hayward in the opening lines of his official report:

At 5:25 A. M. the assault was launched, an assault that kept assaulting so far as our division was concerned, for twelve days, in which we crossed rivers, captured

towns, cut and climbed through acres and acres of barbed wire entanglements, stormed bluffs, ridges and hills for fourteen kilometers, all the way facing stubborn and terribly effective artillery and machine-gun fire. At the end of twelve days we came out with our division, what was left of us, which included twenty officers.

At the very end of the war the 369th won another distinction, pointed out by *The Stars and Stripes*, the organ of the American troops in France, in the following announcement:

The furthest north at 11 o'clock [when the armistice went into effect, Nov. 11, 1918] on the front of the two armies was held at the extreme American left, up Sedan way, by the troops of the 77th Division. The furthest east—the nearest to the Rhine—was held by those negro soldiers who used to make up the old New York 13th, and who have long been brigaded with the French. They were in Alsace, and their line ran through Thann and across the railway that leads to Colmar.

#### NEGRO DIVISION IN ACTION

Soon after the 92d Division was thoroughly organized it took over the Marbaché sector. The fury of these men's trench raids won from the Germans the sobriquet of "schwarze Teufel," (black devils.) By these raids they drove the Germans north beyond Erehaut and Vovrrotte to Cheminot Bridge. To check these attacks the Germans tried to destroy the bridge, and flooded the country. Up to that time, it should be remembered, the 92d Division as a unit had never been in battle. Only the 368th Infantry had received the baptism of fire in the Argonne Forest.

The division's chance came in the drive on Metz. At 4 o'clock one Sunday morning (Nov. 10, 1918) they were notified that they were to be sent into action. Through the whole division echoed the fighting slogan of the "Buffaloes," the 367th Infantry: "See it through!"

The 92d began its advance at 7 o'clock from Pont-à-Mousson. Facing it was a valley commanded by the heavy guns of Metz, and by nests of German machine guns. The negro troops realized their first great opportunity. Fused by a species of race solidarity they plunged forward like a single man, swiftly, unfalter-

ingly, through a veritable rain of shell-fire, heedless of their losses. Their objective for the day was Bois Fréhaut. Picked Moroccan and Senegalese troops of the French Army, striking for the same point, in an odd competition of black races on this day, were the first to arrive. The Germans, grasping the situation, pounded Bois Fréhaut with a heavy fire, and the Senegalese and Moroccans were finally compelled to retreat.

Of the American negro troops, the 56th Regiment was forced to withdraw, but not until after heavy loss. It was the 1st Battalion of the "Buffaloes," commanded by Major Charles L. Appleton of New York, with negro company commanders and Lieutenants, that was called upon to hold the Germans at bay while the decimated 56th retreated. The iron resistance which the Buffaloes made to the Germans on this occasion, in the face of a terrific fire, won for the battalion the Croix de Guerre. A little later Bois Fréhaut was taken by the 92d. The murderous fire directed against the swiftly advancing blacks could not deter them. *The Stars and Stripes* said of this fight:

Probably the hardest fighting done by any Americans in the final hour was that which engaged the troops of the 28th, 92d, 81st, and 7th Divisions of the Second American Army, who launched a fire-eating attack above Vigneulles just at dawn on the 11th. It was no mild thing, that last flare of battle, and the order to cease firing did not reach the men in the front line until the last moment, when the runners sped with it from fox hole to fox hole.

Numerous officers and privates of the 92d were commended for meritorious conduct by General Orders. At the close of hostilities the negro division held the line Vandières-St. Michel-Xon-Norry. The 92d suffered a total of 1,478 casualties.

So the negro soldier, alike of Africa and of the United States, played his part in the great war. Along the northeast front, in Rheims, on the Marne, at Mont de Choisy, in the Argonne, before Metz, these troops held their ground or broke the enemy lines by their unconquerable tenacity. As a French writer put it, "they fought like demons, and they died like men."

# Haiti and the American Occupation

By DR. FRANCOIS DALENCOUR

[A RESIDENT OF HAITI]

EVENTS in Haiti both before and during the period of the war have been little known in the United States. The negro republic, which traces its history back to the discovery of the island by Columbus in 1492, has passed through five political phases:

1. The Indian period. (Prior to 1492.)
2. The Spanish period. (From 1492 to 1697.)
3. The French period. (From 1697 to 1804.)
4. The Haitian period. (From 1804 to 1915.)
5. The Haitian-American period. (From 1915-.)

The first of these periods is but little known. The Spanish period was marked by cruelty and oppression on the part of the Spaniards, who exploited the Indians unscrupulously. Subsequently they imported black slaves from Africa. Under Spanish rule the Island of Hispaniola, as the discoverers had baptized their island possession, suffered rapid decline; the mines were empty and deserted, agriculture was neglected, and the incompetency and corruption of the various Spanish Governors went on unchecked.

In the year 1626 French and English adventurers came to Haiti. These new immigrants were called "Freebooters" and "Buccaneers." They established factories in the north of the island, but the French gained the predominance and drove the English away, subsequently taking possession of the whole western part of the island, which they called Saint Domingue, (Santo Domingo.) In 1697 the Treaty of Ryswick ceded all this territory permanently to France. The French colony soon became rich and prosperous. Santo Domingo was called by them the "Pearl of the Antilles." Under their rule the slave trade was actively pursued. During the American Revolution 800 young Haitians, blacks or mulattoes, took part in the expedition of Lafayette to aid the American colonists. History has preserved their names —Beauvais, Rigaud, J. B. Chavannes, Jourdain among others.

## ERA OF INDEPENDENCE

Haiti, like the rest of the world, but even more strongly, was affected by the French Revolution of 1789. A Haitian who had been educated in Paris, Vincent Ogé, returned to Santo Domingo, and sought out Jean Baptiste Chavannes, who had fought at Savannah for the independence of the United States. These two Haitians initiated an uprising of the slaves, but they were defeated and executed. The ideal of liberty, however, had been spread through Haiti, and was upheld by the brilliant but brief career of Toussaint L'Ouverture; although Napoleon I. sent a military force to compel the allegiance of Haiti, his efforts ended in failure. After many struggles Haiti became independent on Jan. 1, 1804, and the national period began. Dessalines, Commander in Chief of the Haitian Independence Army, was proclaimed Emperor under the title of James I. He died in 1806, and was succeeded by Alexander Piéton, who became the first President of Haiti.

A temporary revolt by General Henri Christophe, head of the northern army, who proclaimed himself King Henry I., failed with his death, and the whole western part of the island became a single State, Haiti,\* under the Presidency of Jean Pierre Boyer, who succeeded Piéton in 1818. In 1820 the whole island was under one unified control. But after the departure of Boyer in 1843, the eastern part of the island, the former Spanish colony, became an independent State. It is now called the Dominican Republic. After Boyer there came a bewildering succession of Haitian Presidents; from 1843 to 1915 no fewer than twenty-two may be counted; in the past ten years, especially, a new President has been elected practically every year.

\*The name Haiti is derived from the Indian word *Altí*, meaning a high and mountainous country.



CITY OF PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, WITH A VIEW OF ITS HARBOR  
 (© Brown & Dawson)

Bad politics, graft, incompetency, bad faith in public business and constant revolutions brought about a deplorable state of public affairs in the Haitian Republic.

#### RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES

For the past twenty years the American Government, well informed of existing conditions, has been watching the Haitian Republic. The public men of the negro State seemed quite blind to their country's welfare. Ambition and love of money dominated them in all their acts. At the end of the year 1914, during the Presidency of Davilmar Théodore, the American Government notified the Haitian Government that it was disposed to grant recognition on condition that a Haitian mission sign at Washington a satisfactory protocol relative to certain questions, first among which should be a customs convention along the lines of that made with the Dominican Government. The draft of such a protocol was submitted to Haiti, according to the terms of which a Gen-

eral Receiver and Financial Adviser were to be appointed by the President of the United States to receive and disburse all moneys received; the debts of Haiti were to be audited and controlled, and a sinking fund established and maintained.

But on Dec. 15, 1914, the Haitian Government answered that it could not accept this convention, on the ground that it meant the intervention of a foreign power in the affairs of the Administration. On Dec. 19 the Legation of the United States declared that it had proposed this agreement only with the object of giving assistance to the Haitian Government, adding that, as Haiti showed no disposition to ratify it, there would be no insistence on the part of the Government of the United States. Unhappily, the warring political factions of the country could not maintain peace among themselves; a new revolution occurred, in which the Government of Davilmar Théodore was overthrown, and General Vilbrun Guillaume was elected President.



MAP SHOWING CHIEF DIVISIONS AND CITIES OF THE NEGRO REPUBLIC OF HAITI AND ITS RELATION TO SANTO DOMINGO

Immediately the American Government sent two Americans to Port-au-Prince, Mr. Ford and Mr. Smith, on a semi-official mission. With the American Minister, Baily Blanchard, they were received by the President of Haiti, with whom they sought to resume the conversations interrupted in December, 1914. But after discovering that these two envoys had no official letters of authority from the American Government, the Haitian officials refused to negotiate with them, and the two American representatives, after filing a protest, departed on an American man-of-war. This was in April, 1915.

In May the United States Government sent Paul Fuller, Jr., to Haiti, as Envoy Extraordinary, charged not to recognize the Government of Vilbrun Guillaume officially unless the latter accepted a new convention. This new protocol called for a close and confidential advisory connection between the United States and Haiti, to be established through the respective Presidents of the two countries and Mr. Fuller and Ulrich Duverin, Haitian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; it also provided for the protection

of Haiti by the American Government against either foreign or internal aggression; the refusal of any rights or privileges in Haiti to any foreign power or its representatives, and the settlement of American or other foreign claims by arbitration within a period of six months. In response to the presentation of this proposed convention, the Haitian Government submitted a counter-draft embodying some modifications. Mr. Fuller accepted some of these modifications, but suddenly, in the first days of June, 1915, with the outbreak of a new revolution, he took his departure.

#### ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATIONS

This upheaval had broken out quite unexpectedly. Civil war raged, amid scenes of bloodshed, pillage, and fire, in the north. On June 2 the American Secretary of State, William J. Bryan, informed the Haitian Minister at Washington that he had received from Cape Haitien, a town of Haiti, a telegram which said that there had been a hostile demonstration before the American Consulate, and that the rebels had threatened to burn the town if they were

forced to evacuate it. The American Secretary stated that an order had been given to dispatch two men-of-war to Haiti.

On July 27, at 4 o'clock in the morning, the friends of the rebels at Port-au-Prince took arms and attacked the President at his residence in Champ de Mars, a park of the town. The President, Vilbrun Guillaume, fled to the French Legation. The Governor of Port-au-Prince, on hearing of this attack, ordered the massacre of all political prisoners. About 150 of these were executed in prison. The following day, July 28, 1915, some relatives and friends of the massacred prisoners, reinforced by a number of the rebels, went to the French Legation and seized the President, whom they killed with machetes and bayonet thrusts. Parts of the body, including the head, which was impaled on a stick, were taken out and paraded in the streets of the city by a furious crowd.

The political situation was threatening. Several factions were struggling to elect their Presidential candidates. On the same day, at 6 o'clock in the evening, the United States Marine Corps landed at Port-au-Prince, under Captain Beach, soon followed by Rear Admiral Caperton, who was in chief command. After many parleys the Haitian Parliament was convoked, and a new President, Sudre Dartiguenave, was elected for a period of seven years. Soon after this the United States Legation presented the outline of a new convention.

#### CONVENTION NOW IN FORCE

After many negotiations this convention was signed and ratified by the Haitian Parliament in November, 1915. It was ratified at Washington on May 6, 1916. The text of this convention is given herewith:

**Preamble.** The United States and the Republic of Haiti desiring to confirm and strengthen the friendship existing between them by the most cordial co-operation in measures for their common advantage, and the Republic of Haiti desiring to remedy the present condition of its revenues and finances, to maintain the tranquillity of the republic, to carry out plans for the economic development and prosperity of the republic and its

people, and the United States being in full sympathy with all these aims and objects and desiring to contribute in all proper ways to their accomplishment,

The United States and the Republic of Haiti have resolved to conclude a convention with these objects in view, and have appointed for that purpose plenipotentiaries, who having exhibited to each other their respective powers, which are seen to be fully in good and true form, have agreed as follows:

**ARTICLE I.**—The Government of the United States will, by its good office, aid the Haitian Government in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources, and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis.

**ARTICLE II.**—The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a General Receiver and such aids and employes as may be necessary, who shall collect, receive, and apply all customs duties on imports and exports accruing at the several Custom Houses and ports of entry of the Republic of Haiti.

The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a Financial Adviser, who shall be an officer attached to the Ministry of Finance, to give effect to whose proposals and labors the Minister will lend efficient aid. The Financial Adviser shall devise an adequate system of public accounting, aid in increasing the revenues and adjusting them to the expenses, inquire into the validity of the debts of the republic, enlighten both Governments with reference to all eventual debts, recommend improved methods of collecting and applying the revenues, and make such other recommendations to the Minister of Finance as may be deemed necessary for the welfare and prosperity of Haiti.

**ARTICLE III.**—The Government of the Republic of Haiti will provide by law or appropriate decrees for the payment of all customs duties to the General Receiver, and will extend to the Receivership, and to the Financial Adviser, all needful aid and full protection in execution of the powers conferred and duties imposed herein, and the United States on its part will extend like aid and protection.

**ARTICLE IV.**—Upon the appointment of the Financial Adviser the Government of the Republic of Haiti, in co-operation with the Financial Adviser, shall collate, classify, arrange, and make full statement of all the debts of the republic, the amounts, character, maturity, and condition thereof, and the interest accruing and the sinking fund requisite to their final discharge.

**ARTICLE V.**—All sums collected and

received by the General Receiver shall be applied, first, to the payment of the salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employes, and expenses of the Receivership, including the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, which salaries will be determined by previous agreement; second, to the interest and sinking fund of the public debt of the Republic of Haiti; and, third, to the maintenance of the constabulary referred to in Article X., and then the remainder to the Haitian Government for the purpose of current expenses.

For making these applications the General Receiver will proceed to pay salaries and allowances monthly and expenses as they arise, and on the first of each calendar month will set aside in a separate fund the quantum of the collections and receipts of the previous month.

**ARTICLE VI.**—The expenses of the Receivership, including salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employes, and the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, shall not exceed 5 per centum of the collections and receipts from customs duties, unless by agreement by the two Governments.

**ARTICLE VII.**—The General Receiver shall make monthly reports of all collections, receipts, and disbursements to the appropriate officers of the Republic of Haiti and to the Department of State of the United States, which reports shall be open to inspection and verification at all times by the appropriate authorities of each of the said Governments.

**ARTICLE VIII.**—The Republic of Haiti shall not increase its public debt except by previous agreement with the President of the United States, and shall not contract any debt or assume any financial obligation unless the ordinary revenues of the republic available for that purpose, after defraining the expenses of the Government, shall be adequate to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the final discharge of such debt.

**ARTICLE IX.**—The Republic of Haiti will not, without the assent of the President of the United States, modify the customs duties in a manner to reduce the revenues therefrom, and in order that the revenues of the republic may be adequate to meet the public debt and expenses of the Government, to preserve tranquillity and to promote material prosperity, the Republic of Haiti will co-operate with the Financial Adviser in his recommendation for improvement in the methods of collecting and disbursing the revenues and for new sources of needed income.

**ARTICLE X.**—The Haitian Government obligates itself, for the preservation of domestic peace, the security of individual

rights, and the full observance of the provisions of this treaty, to create without delay an efficient constabulary, urban and rural, composed of native Haitians. This constabulary shall be organized and officered by Americans appointed by the President of Haiti, upon nomination by the President of the United States. The Haitian Government shall clothe these officers with the proper and necessary authority and uphold them in the performance of their functions. These officers will be replaced by Haitians as they, by examination conducted under direction of a board to be selected by the senior American officer of this constabulary, in the presence of a representative of the Haitian Government, are found to be qualified to assume such duty. The constabulary herein provided for shall, under the direction of the Haitian Government, have supervision and control of arms and ammunition, military supplies and traffic therein, throughout the country. The high contracting parties agree that the stipulations in this article are necessary to prevent factional strife and disturbances.

**ARTICLE XI.**—The Government of Haiti agrees not to surrender any of the territory of the Republic of Haiti by sale, lease, or otherwise, or jurisdiction over such territory, to any foreign Government or power, nor to enter into any treaty or contract with any foreign power or powers that will impair or tend to impair the independence of Haiti.

**ARTICLE XII.**—The Haitian Government agrees to execute with the United States a protocol for the settlement, by arbitration or otherwise, of all pending pecuniary claims of foreign corporations, companies, citizens, or subjects against Haiti.

**ARTICLE XIII.**—The Republic of Haiti, being desirous to further the development of its natural resources, agrees to undertake and execute such measures as, in the opinion of the high contracting parties, may be necessary for the sanitation and public improvement of the republic, under the supervision and direction of an engineer or engineers to be appointed by the President of Haiti upon nomination of the President of the United States and authorized for that purpose by the Government of Haiti.

**ARTICLE XIV.**—The high contracting parties shall have authority to take such steps as may be necessary to insure the complete attainment of any of the objects comprehended in this treaty, and, should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

**ARTICLE XV.**—The present treaty shall

be approved and ratified by the high contracting parties in conformity with their respective laws, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the City of Washington as soon as may be possible.

**ARTICLE XVI.**—The present treaty shall remain in full force and virtue for the term of ten years, to be counted from the day of exchange of ratifications, and further for another term of ten years if, for specific reasons presented by either of the high contracting parties, the purpose of this treaty has not been fully accomplished.

In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate in the English and French languages, and have thereunto affixed their seals.

After the ratification of this convention several agreements were made for the organization of public service, including a special Haitian constabulary and a coast-guard service; the annual compensation of these bodies and of the Financial Adviser and General Receiver was fixed; the telephone and telegraph systems were reorganized and similar financial provisions made. In the meantime the whole country was put under martial law, and order was preserved. The affairs of Haiti seemed at last to have been established upon a basis favorable for the prosperous development of the island republic.

#### DISAPPOINTED HOPES

As soon as the Haitian-American convention was accepted by both nations everybody in Haiti thought that a new era of peace, of industry, of freedom was at hand. But the Haitian officials, under the aegis of America's protection, took advantage of the situation to seek their personal profit. Malversations were committed. Journalists striving to discuss these questions were put in prison. Faithful to his promise to protect the existing administration, Rear Admiral Caperton took no measures to maintain the freedom of the press. Confronted with many protests and much opposition, the Haitian Government then took the decision to dissolve the Parliament. This was done on April 4, 1916. Rear Admiral Caperton gave his consent to this disloyal and criminal proceeding. And this marked the beginning of Haitian hostility to America. How can a

democratic country, white or negro, live without a Parliament in which the vital problems of a people are discussed? No democracy without a popular Parliament is possible.

Rear Admiral Caperton ordered fresh elections, and new representatives were chosen in January, 1917. At the end of the same month a part of the American Atlantic fleet, under Admiral Mayo, came to Port-au-Prince. This was a friendly visit and a demonstration of American power in the West Indies. Europe was still plunged in war against Germany. The American fleet was received with the utmost cordiality by the Haytian people, both officially and individually. Franklin Roosevelt, sub-Secretary of the Navy Department, made an eloquent speech to the President of Haiti, who answered in cordial terms. After a three-day sojourn the American fleet steamed away, bearing with it the best wishes of the Haitian people.

#### THE NEW CONSTITUTION

In May, 1917, the new Parliament met to give a new Constitution to the country. But this Parliament also was dissolved in June, 1917. In its stead, a Council of State of twenty-one members was appointed. This council was endowed with legislative powers. At the beginning of 1918 a new Constitution was at last elaborated by the Haitian authorities. It contained 134 articles. For the first time in history one saw a Constitution of 134 articles and twenty-three pages submitted to a whole people, called upon to answer "Yes" or "No." Natives suggested it, which makes the case worse, and Americans approved it.

A special article of this Constitution said:

All acts of the Government of the United States during its military occupation in Haiti are hereby ratified and validated. No Haitian may be pursued civilly or criminally for any act executed in virtue of orders of the occupation, or under its authority. The acts of military courts shall not be subject to revision. The acts of the Executive Power, till publication of the present Constitution, are equally ratified and validated.

How can public acts be ratified in a lump by people who have no power to discuss and examine them? How can a

ratification be made by wholesale? Public acts have to be submitted to the judgment and approval of competent men; otherwise government becomes a matter of brute force.

All intelligent Haitians know that American statesmen and leaders of opinion are not aware of what is happening in Haiti. The American Nation is too great and good to tolerate such infractions of political morality. Haiti, which in July, 1918, entered the confraternity of the allied nations by declaring war on Germany, is, with the approval of American officials, in a state of anarchy, anarchy of legislation, anarchy of administration, with no Parliament to discuss the living interests of its people, with no freedom of thought, of speech, of act, deprived of justice and legality, and so undermined by disorganization of

labor and by pauperism that many Haitians are emigrating to Cuba and elsewhere to look for work.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—Major W. W. Buckley of the Marine Corps, on furlough from Haiti, reports that the native constabulary, 2,500 strong, under American officers, has attained an efficiency never dreamed of in the old days when one politician after another massacred his way to the Presidency. The constabulary, well fed and contented, dressed in khaki uniforms and wearing shoes that match, has become a well-disciplined force, and in excursions into the mountains to put down brigandage has always shown courage and resolution. Before Admiral Caperton landed marines at Port-au-Prince in July, 1915, it was not safe for white men of any nationality to go into the interior, and even in coast towns it was well to be in touch with a legation. Now white men are seldom attacked even by bandits. The treaty with the United States does not please all parties, but the people are prospering under the American "protectorate."]

## Santo Domingo's Plea for Self-Government

THE other half of the island that contains the Haitian Republic is occupied by the Republic of Santo Domingo, which also is under American military occupation. United States marines were ordered to Santo Domingo on Nov. 25, 1916, because there was a threat of revolution there. The Acting President, Dr. Francisco Henriquez, took refuge in Santiago de Cuba and has been living there in exile with other ex-officials of his country. When the Peace Conference assembled in Paris he headed a delegation to present the case of Santo Domingo to that body; his plea was heard by individual delegations, but Santo Domingo was not included in the list making up the League of Nations.

On Sept. 10, 1919, a Madrid dispatch brought a brief address signed by a number of Spanish political leaders, including former Premiers Romanones and Alhuacemas, suggesting that "it would be opportune at the present moment for the Spanish Government to express to the Washington Government the desire of the Dominican Government to see restored the régime annulled by the military occupation to which the country is subjected." It was noted that this ad-

dress coincided with the presence in Madrid of the Dominican diplomat, Enrique Deschamps. The next day the following statement was issued in Washington by ex-President Henriquez himself, who had returned from Paris at the head of a commission which included other former Dominican officials:

It is nearly three years now that an American military Government was established in Santo Domingo, with a military occupation by American forces and the application of military laws. This military Government supplanted the National Government of the country, which has not existed since then.

Individual liberties have been greatly diminished in Santo Domingo by the action of the American military Government. There is no freedom of the press, no right of assembly, and the people cannot take any initiative to modify the situation. Some administrative reforms of great usefulness have been introduced by the military Government, but the population desires a change in the present situation and wishes to see the National Government again in native hands. At the same time, there is a desire to reorganize national institutions in accordance with advanced ideas in order to avoid any internal disturbances and to favor economic development.

In the proclamation issued by the Amer-

ican military Government, the people of Santo Domingo were told that the military occupation was meant to be transitory; that there was no intention to put an end to the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic; but, on the contrary, the purpose was of helping the country to return to a situation of internal order that would enable it to fulfill its obligations as a member of the family of nations upon the termination of the great war.

For that reason Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, who went recently to Paris with the object of presenting the case of Santo Domingo to the Peace Conference, has now come to Washington in order to present to the American Government some suggestions as to a general plan that will lead to the political and administrative reorganization of the country and to the restoration of the National Government. We are fully confident that the Government of the United States will give a favorable solution to the question of the Dominican Republic.

The United States had been virtually

forced to intervene by the violent disturbances and general chaos in the island. There were bandits everywhere, and the mulatto republic had become a disturber among the nations. We landed about 5,000 marines, put naval and marine officers into the chief executive posts, and took hold of the customs duties, which furnish the bulk of the revenue. Now there are less than 200 bandits left in their last refuge, Seybo, at the eastern extremity of the island. Elsewhere murder no longer stalks abroad by night and day. Military administration is strict, but the people again live in security, and honest collection of revenue has made the country again financially solvent. The United States Government has indicated a willingness to withdraw—with some reservations—whenever the Dominican Republic again produces a competent Government.

## Causes of the Caporetto Disaster

### Official Italian Report

THE sudden disaster which overwhelmed General Cadorna's Italian armies in the Julian Alps and along the Isonzo, beginning Oct. 24, 1917, and developing into an Austro-German invasion of Northern Italy as far as the Piave River, has since come to be known by the one word "Caporetto," the name of the town where the Italian lines first gave way. After the close of hostilities the Italian Parliament ordered an investigation into the causes of this disaster, and the committee's report was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies at Rome on Aug. 16, 1919. It lays the blame primarily upon General Cadorna and upon the Cabinet, which, it holds, should have deposed him earlier on account of serious defects in his military methods.

Dealing with Italian preparations for the war, the committee does not spare its strictures on the methods with which some classes of young officers were recruited, and, as far as arms and ammunition are concerned, it is of opinion that

the Supreme Command showed lack of foresight by not procuring adequate information about the enemy's defensive organization, which, in the initial stages, succeeded in breaking the impetus of the advance and in causing losses altogether out of proportion to the results obtained. The Supreme Command failed to make the best use of the experience gained both on the French and on the Russian fronts. And in the disaster of 1917 it failed to grasp a political and military situation that pointed to the extreme probability of an offensive by the enemy. The committee extends its criticism to the insufficient results derived from the units of machine gunners, in spite of the many instances of individual gallantry; to the deficient organization of the first-assault companies; to the defective training of the troops, due to insufficient periods of rest.

Concerning the discipline and the General's relations with the officers, the committee condemns Cadorna's policy in removing officers, a policy which he car-

ried too far, and which resulted not only in the removal of 900 high officers but also in producing a wave of fear and antagonism among a great many more. It also calls attention to the bad treatment of the troops in the way of feeding, as well as to the overtaxing of their physical energy by overfrequent rounds of trench service.

It calls attention to the insufficient work of propaganda, to the lack of uniformity in discipline, and, above all, to those dreadful though short periods of harsh discipline when capital punishment was freely resorted to, often following the cruel method of decimation when individual responsibilities could not be ascertained. The committee charges Cadorna with not having properly utilized the soldiers' combative qualities, which, indeed, he depressed by keeping the men in dangerous places for too long, and by repeatedly compelling them to attack positions which had become ill-famed through the blood which they had already exacted without results. The committee maintains that, although the Italian Army had already acquired an everlasting title of glory for its valiant resistance in eleven battles, yet the dreadful impression made on the men, added to the widespread conviction of the perfect uselessness of such efforts, reached such a climax that it would have been quite sufficient by itself to determine that mental crisis which was the ultimate cause of the Caporetto disaster.

The committee recognizes that all these other causes were additional causes. Side by side with the sentimental factors, which produced a feeling of weariness and a longing for the end of the war, there were political factors, such as the

particular conditions under which the Italian intervention had taken place, the weakness of the Government toward the political parties which were opposing the war, the permission granted to supporters of the Soviet to circulate freely through Italy, the repercussion of the statement that "there should not be another Winter spent in the trenches," the effect of the Turin riots and of the papal peace note. All these causes would not alone have had great consequences. It was the fault of the Cabinet then in power not to have shown the secondary importance of these non-military factors to the Supreme Command, which was prone to exaggerate the danger of the so-called "disfattismo" ("defeatism") and not to have urged the command to adopt wiser methods in handling the troops.

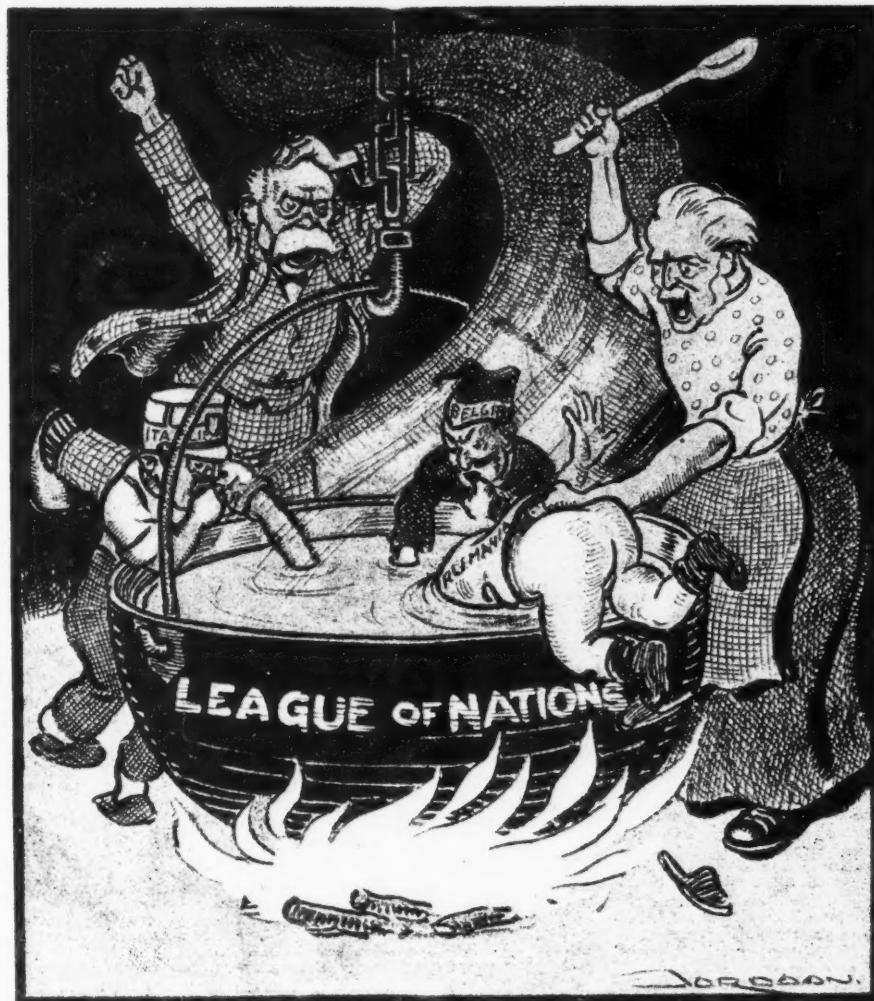
To state the whole matter briefly, the committee traces the chief causes of the Caporetto disaster back to the Supreme Command. Those on whom the weight of responsibility would rest most heavily would therefore be General Cadorna, for the above-stated reasons as well as for neglecting the organization of the strategic reserves and the construction of defense lines; General Porro, vice head of the General Staff, for having disregarded the necessity of inducing General Cadorna to correct his wrong methods and for having failed in his task of gathering political and military information; General Capello, head of the Second Army, for his cruel disciplinary methods, and for his persistent prodigality in shedding blood with results out of all proportion to the losses; and, finally, the Cabinet presided over by Signor Boselli, for failing to exercise proper vigilance over the morale of the army.



# INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[Dutch Cartoon]

## Spoiling the Soup



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam:

Everybody wants his own bit of meat from the bottom

[American Cartoon]

## Carrying the Entertainment a Little Too Far

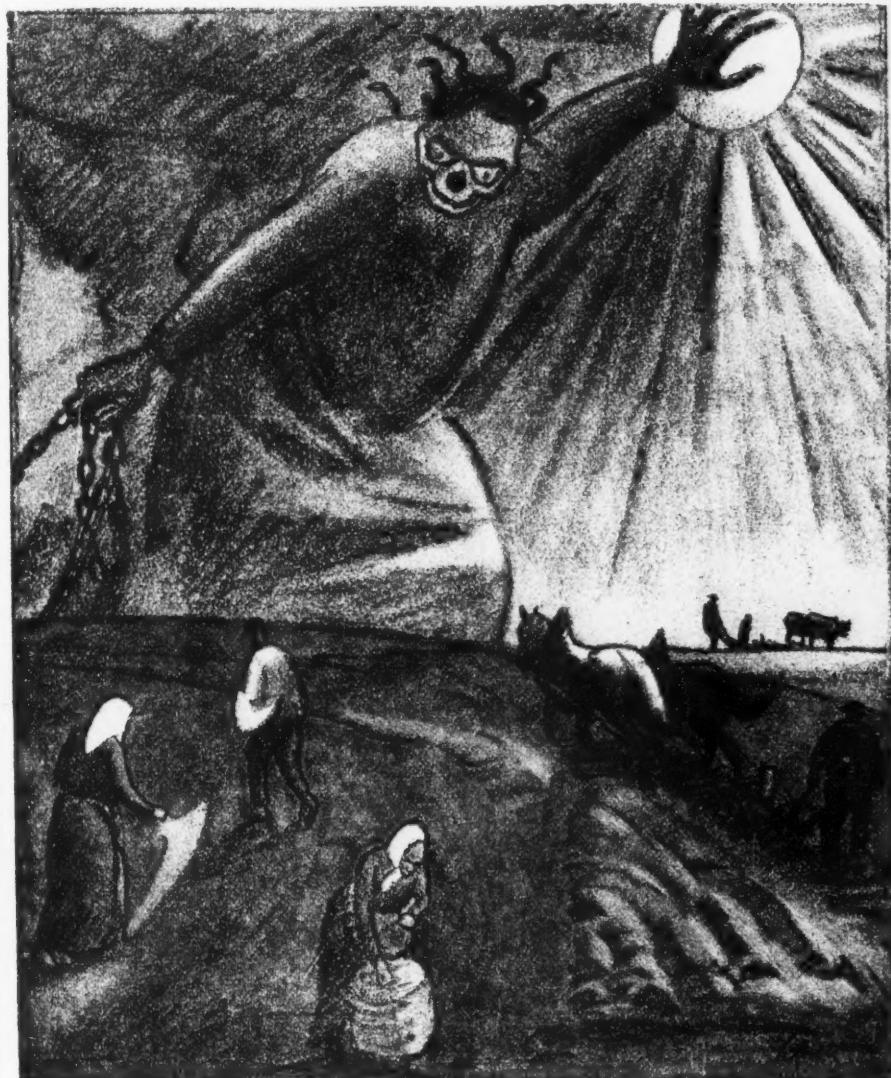


—From *The Des Moines Register*

[German Cartoon]

## The Peace of Versailles

(As Germany Sees It)

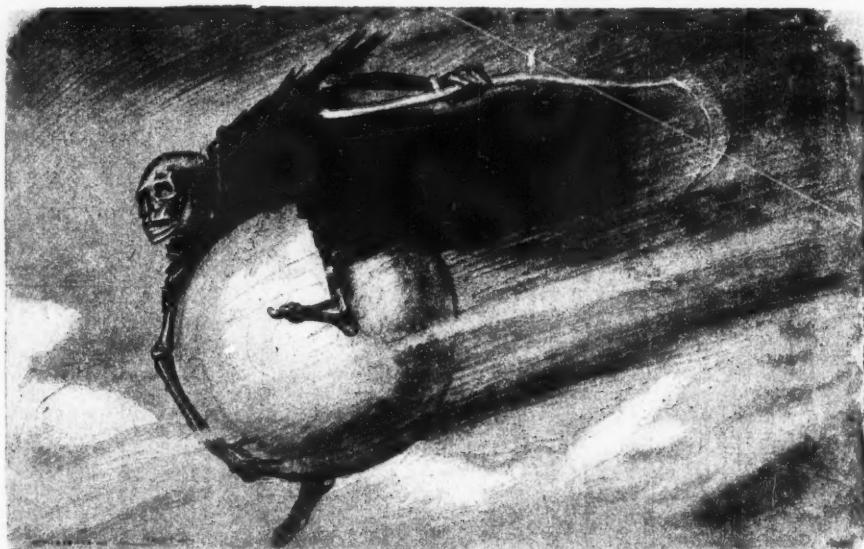


*—From Simplicissimus, Munich*

[Under this cartoon the Munich artist placed a passage from Carlyle calling on Germany to live her own brave life, regardless of Versailles]

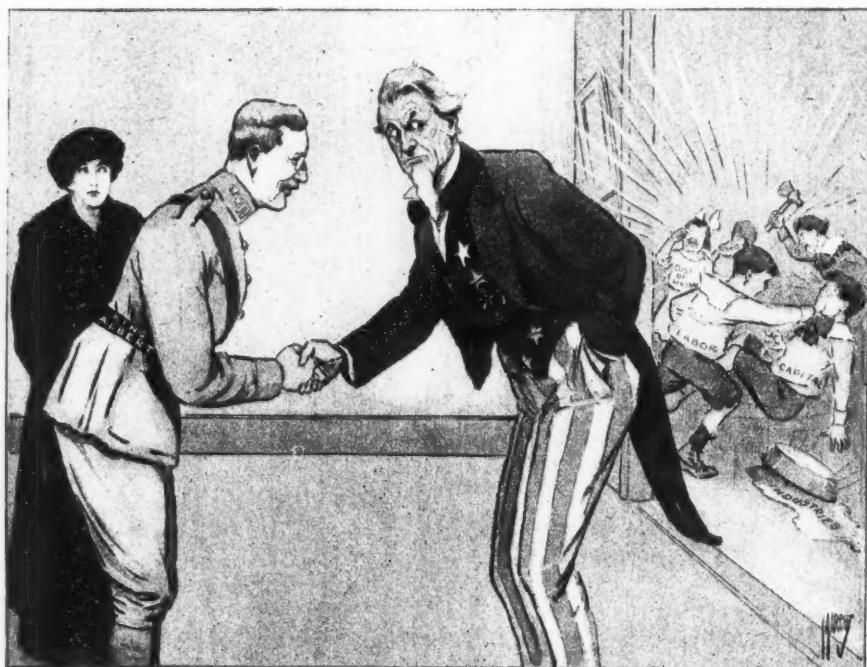
[Australian Cartoon]

## Still Joy-Riding



[American Cartoon] —From *The Sydney Bulletin*

## It Always Happens When Company Comes



—From *The New York Times*

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

## First Results of the Peace Settlement



—From *Nebelblätter*, Zurich.

[Italian Cartoon]

## The Progress of Peace



—*L'Avvocato*, Rome.

[Dutch Cartoon]

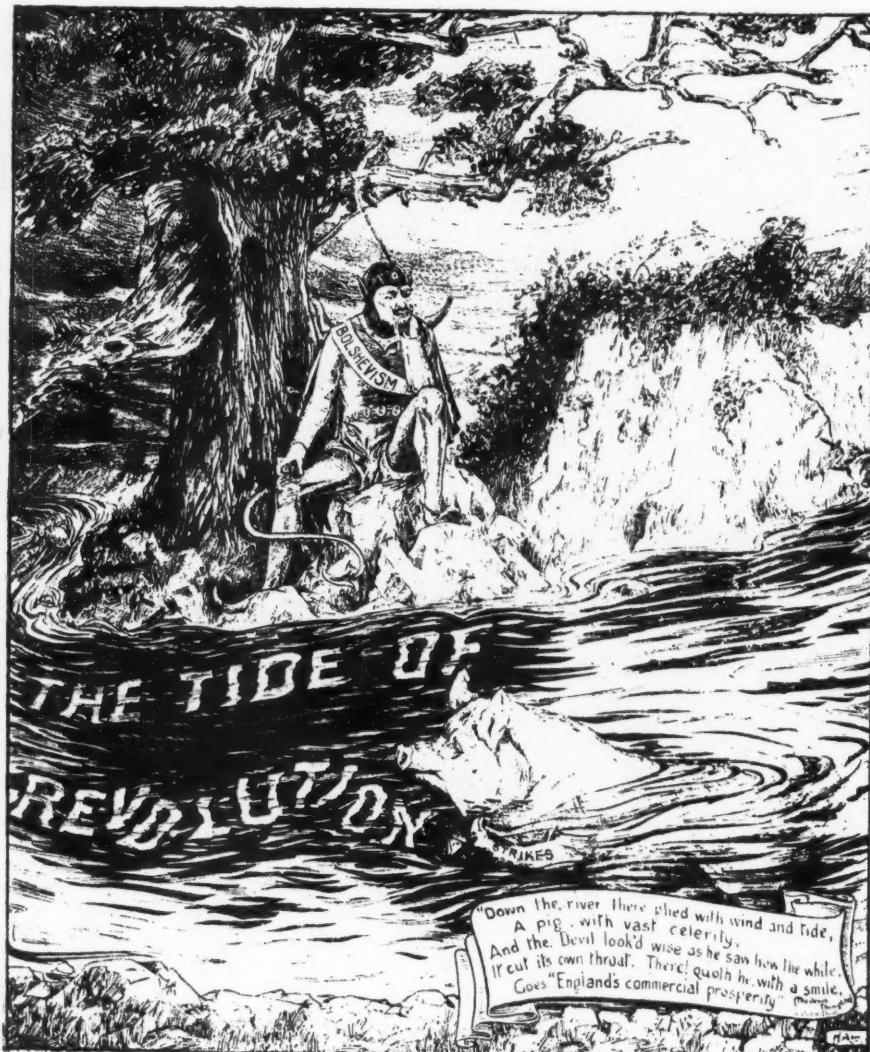
## The Puppet Show



—*De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam  
GOVERNMENT (to food prices): "For the first and last time, come down! You won't? Well, stay up, then!"

[English Cartoon]

## "The Devil's Thoughts"



—From *The Whitehall Gazette, London*

[A Premonition, Coleridge, 1794]

[American Cartoon]

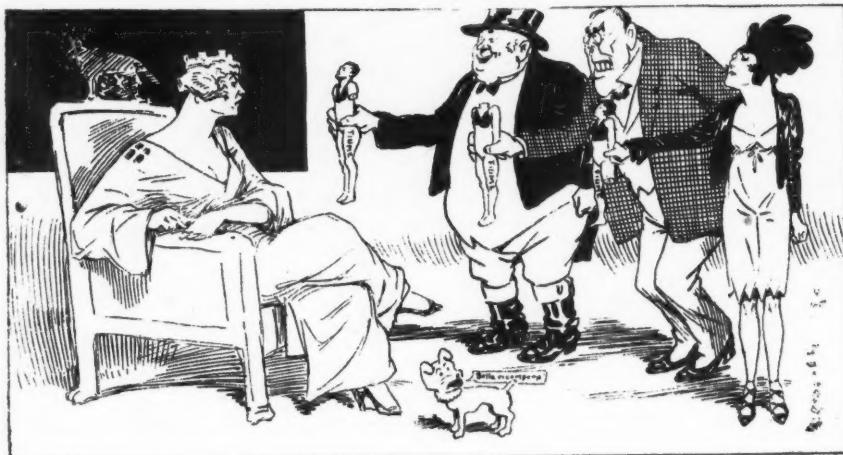
## Why Not Drop a Few Bundles?



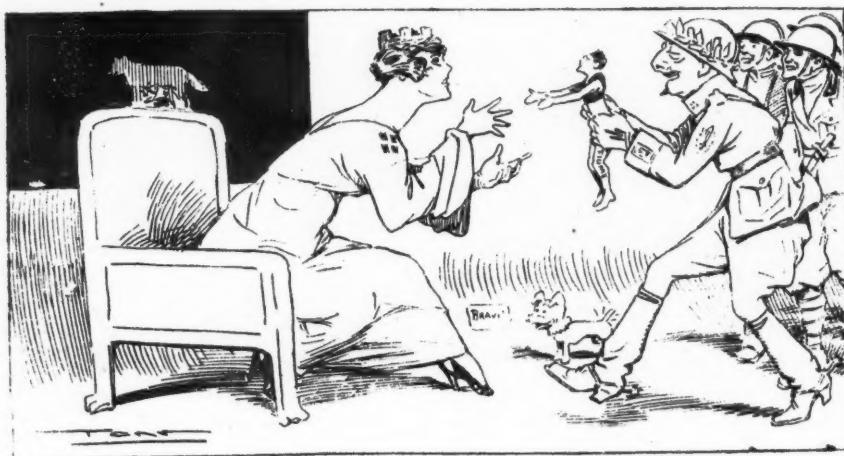
—From *The Tacoma News-Tribune*

[Italian Cartoon]

## Italy and Fiume



FRANCE: "I'll give you Fiume thus." ENGLAND: "And I thus." AMERICA: "And I thus."



—From *Il 420, Florence*

D'ANNUNZIO: "And I'll give it to you thus."

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

## The Hero of Fiume



That's it! I'll enter Rome as Caesar. No, that doesn't suit me . . .



Then as Garibaldi. No, that doesn't suit, either.



Ha! I will go as Apollo. But, no, that won't do . . .

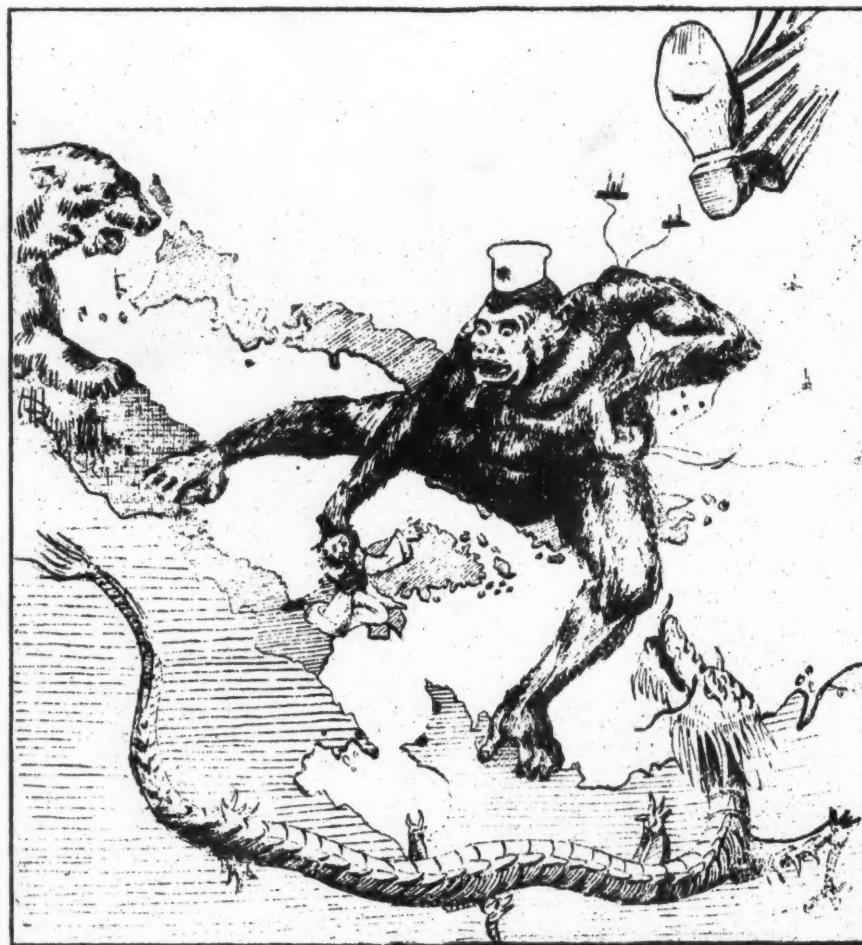


Good heavens! The police!

—From: *Nebelspalter, Zurich*

[Russian Cartoon]

## The Peril of the Pacific



*From the Russian Magazine, Solntse (The Sun)*

[A Chinese editor, reproducing this cartoon, wrote under it: "Japan is rising out of the ocean. Already she has Korea by the throat. Already she has one foot on Shantung and the other on the Maritime Provinces, including Vladivostok. Russia, China, and America are ready to protect the world against the Beast. What will they do?"]

[Australian Cartoon]

## "The Old Man of the Sea"

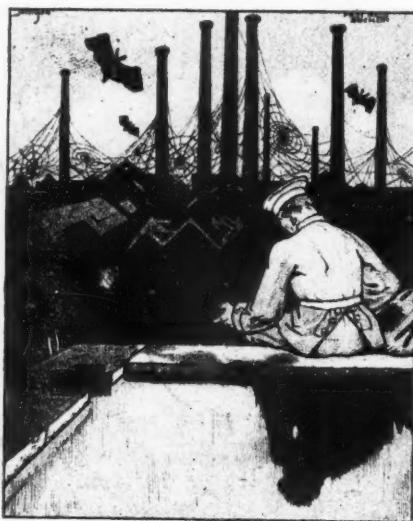


—From *The Sydney Bulletin*

Sinbad the Sailor (Labor) unable to shake off the Old Man of the Sea (Bolshevism)

[German Cartoons]

The Prisoner's Return



Frederick the Fat



Leading the Blind



French Chivalry



HOW America entered the war  
[President Wilson first learned of the  
secret treaties with Japan at the Peace  
Conference]

CHILDREN (to grandmother, who is trying  
to tell them a story of French chivalry):  
"But, Grandma, such foolish and impos-  
sible tales are no longer told now"

—From *Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

[American Cartoons]

The Innocent Bystander



Self-Determination



A Meeting of the League



Why Not a Nursery of Our Own?



—From *The San Francisco Chronicle*

[American Cartoon]

As Senator Reed Pictures  
the League

How Would You Like to  
Have This Bird Wished  
on You?



—*St. Louis Republic*

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*

[German Cartoon]

The Allies “Protecting” Themselves

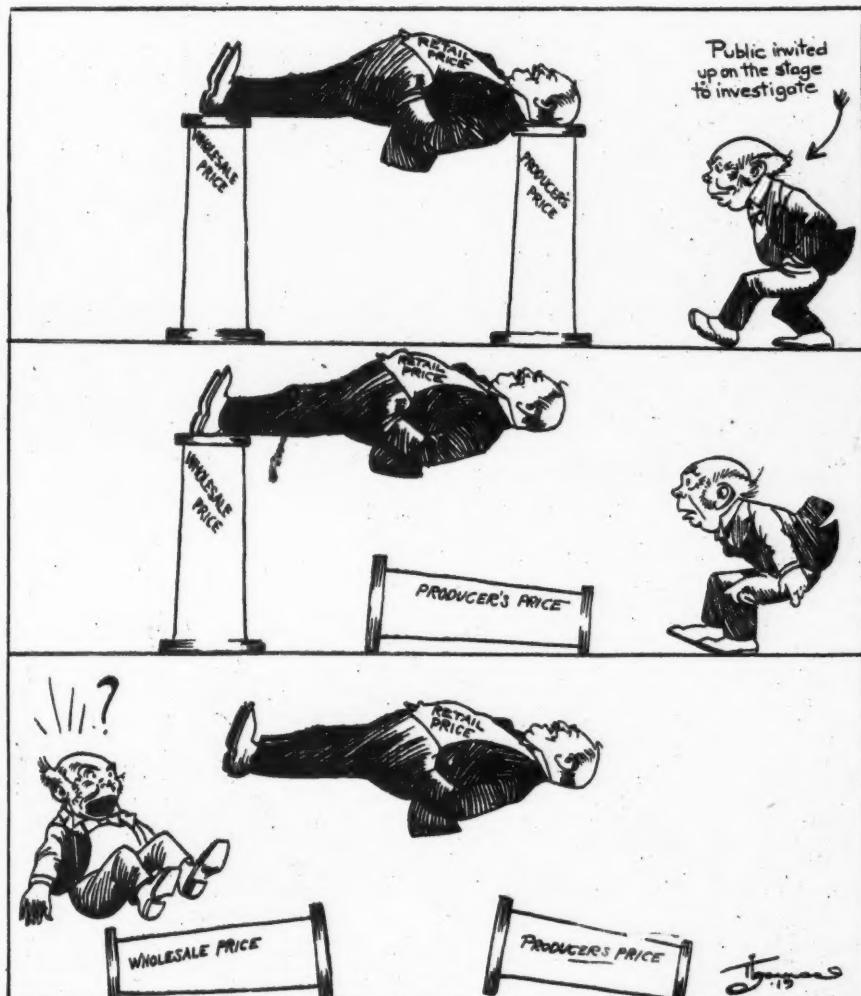


—*From Lustige Blätter, Berlin*

[The German cartoonist shows France bagging Syria, Alsace-Lorraine, and the Sarre Basin, while Great Britain takes Egypt and Persia, and the United States tries in vain to prevent Japan from seizing China]

[American Cartoon]

## Defying the Laws of Gravitation and the United States



—From *The Detroit News*

[American Cartoons]

The Human Wishbone



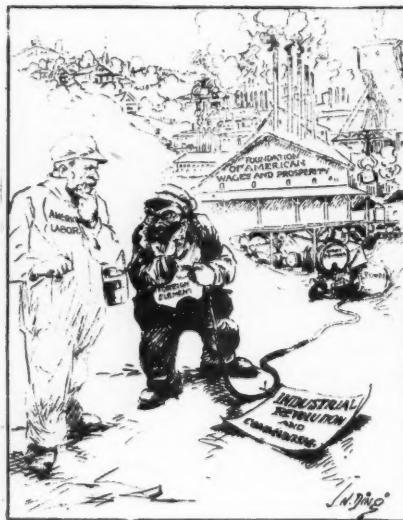
—Detroit News

How About the People in the Street?



—Detroit News

Got a Match?



—New York Tribune

The World's Only Overproduction



—Dayton News